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Civil Military Relationship (CMR)

1. Introduction

The most basic pre-condition of a true democratic setup is the healthy CM relationship. In all democratic countries, elected civilian government enjoys full control over the military. However, in Pakistan, control over governance / power has been oscillated between civilian supremacy and military rule. Civilian government has always found it difficult to keep a balance between democratic parties and to keep top brass of military satisfied and happy. Every civilian government has taken its decision by keeping in view that military may not be alienated. Over time, military expanded its role to becoming an important actor in decision making to directly assuming power and to prefer role over rule.

2. History of Martial Law in Pakistan

The ascendancy of Pakistan's military began sharply after the country achieved independence in 1947. Rapid deterioration of political process enabled military to become important decision maker at national level. Almost half of the life of Pakistan remained under direct military rule starting from the martial law of General Ayub Khan to the last dictator General Musharaf.

History of Martial Law in Pakistan is discussed as under:

1. In October 1958, Army Chief (Field Martial) General Ayub Khan assumed power by imposing first martial law in the history of Pakistan. He ruled under martial law till 1962 when he civilianized his regime by co-opting some politicians and established presidential constitution which legitimized his rule after the martial law.
2. Second coup was staged in 1969 by General Yahya Khan who then surrendered power to civilian leader Z.A. Bhutto in December 1971 after the debacle of Dhaka as a result of India-Pakistan War.
3. The military overcame the trauma of defeat within few years and in July 1977 general Zia Ul Haq reasserted military rule by overthrowing civilian rule. He presided over under martial law from 1977 to 1985 which is the longest period in the history of Pakistan. He ultimately handed over the power to civilian government.
4. After the death of Zia Ul Haq in 1988, there has been a civilian rule of almost one decade when in 12 October 1999, General Musharaf again toppled the civilian government and became chief martial law administrator and ruled till 2007.

3. Troika of Power

Because of long military rule in Pakistan and weak political institutions, army chief has become an important pillar of power sharing after 1988. Along with the President and the Prime Minister, COAS constitutes one-third of power of troika, an extra ordinary constitutional arrangement of civil military consensus on key domestic, security and foreign policy issues.

Troika meets periodically and discusses all important matter of the state. No civilian government can dare to break the troika by excluding COAS from the strategic decision making of the country.

4. History of Civil Military Relationship

During civilian rule, governance in Pakistan oscillated between military chiefs and the civilian leadership. Military has important influence over the key domestic, security and foreign policy issues. Almost every civilian government faced the problem of military intervention into civilian matters. No government in Pakistan could afford to alienate powerful military leadership from power.

i) Civil Military Relationship during Bhutto Era

During Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (ZA Bhutto) era, army was initially demoralized and weak due to Dhaka debacle. ZA Bhutto initially controlled military and prevented it from growing politically. He installed mechanisms so as to not to allow military to flourish economically.

But soon military was in a position to regain its power because of political blunders made by politicians including the PPP and PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) and the failure of civilian government to bring country out of crises.It resulted in ruthless martial law of Gen. Zia who left no stone unturned to crush political institutions.

ii) First government of Benazir Bhutto (BB) and the Military

Benazir Bhutto (BB) became prime minister in December 1988 and remained in power till August 1990. Despite military's distrust on PPP, BB was allowed to assume power as PPP emerged as the largest party in the elections.

Initially, BB was aware of military's power so she gave major concessions to military like:

1) Support for 5 year term of the then acting president Ishaq Khan (A Zia's loyal) to become president of Pakistan
2) Retention of Lt. Gen. Yakub Khan (A Zia's Minister) in her cabinet and
3) She promised not to cut-off budget for defense expenditures.

But soon the relations of BB's government with the military turned bitter (unromantic) because of the following reasons:

1) Her government's politico-economic mismanagement and confrontation with the opposition parties (IJI – Islami Jamhori Ittehad).
2) Military considered its internal autonomy to be challenged by the civilian government like interference in appointments and transfer of army officers.

3) Law and order issues in Sindh which caused ethnic division of the province into Urban Sindh (urdu speaking) and Rural Sindh (sindhi speaking).

4) BB's confrontation with the Punjab government which was controlled by the opposition IJI with Nawaz Sharif as Chief Minister of the Punjab.

As a result of the above mentioned factors, BB's relationship with the president deteriorated. Ishaq Khan, after having detailed discussion with the COAS about this confrontation, sacked BB's first civilian government in 1990.

iii) First government of Nawaz Sharif and the Military

Nawaz Sharif became PM in 1990 with endorsement of President and Military officers. He maintained cordial relations with the military on all the key issues including the 1991 Gulf war (Iraq occupied Kuwait).

Soon, NS's relations with the military became bitter on the major issues like: transfer and posting of army personnel, poor law and order in Sindh, and government's poor performance. But even in such circumstances, Civil Military relations were under control because of Ishaq Khan's support for the NS's government. He played the role of a bridge between military and sharif.

Then, Sharif retaliated presidency by announcing that his government would amend constitution to curb the discretionary power of the president to overthrow civilian government that was given to him in 8th amendment (passed in 1987). His government also indicated that it will not nominate Ishaq Khan for the second term. These issues resulted in unhappiness of the top military brass. As a result, president Ishaq Khan dismissed Nawaz's government with the back of army.

iv) Second government of BB and the Military

BB assumed office as PM for the second time in Octorber 1993. Farooq Laghari was elected as president by PPP's government. BB's relations with the military were much improved because she avoided interference into the internal affairs of the army and considered its input in major domestic, security and foreign policy issues.

Soon, BB's relations with the army were deteriorated because of ethnic violence in Sindh, failure to have effective and transparent administration, drug mafia, violence, law and order issues, bad economy, inflation and corruption by her husband Mr. Asif Ali Zardari. She also antagonized top military in attempting to fill the top judiciary posts by political appointees.

Due such circumstances, president had no difficulty in gaining army support and to remove BB from her office in 1996.

v) Second government of Nawaz Sharif and the military

Nawaz Sharif again turned to power in 1997 with absolute majority and found government in three provinces of Punjab, NWFP and Sindh. President and the military elite welcomed the change because of the magnitude of his success.

Sharif tried to undermine the members of troika and state institutions by using his numerical strength.

1) He introduced 13th amendment to withdraw the discretionary powers of the president to overthrow civilian government by dissolving the assemblies.

2) He introduced 14th amendment to enhance the party leader's powers by declaring that a member would lose his seat if he violates party discipline and votes against the party.

Soon crises developed between the army and the civilian government when Nawaz Sharif started confrontation with the judiciary when justice Sajjad Ali Shah asked for the elevation of judges from HC to SC which the government rejected. This dispute turned into a general confrontation between the judiciary and the executive.

Further, the due to the deteriorated socio-politico-economic condition of the state, the army instead of toppling the civilian government by civilian president directly interfered and imposed martial law.

vi) Asif Ali Zardari and the Military

President AA Zardari assumed power in 2008. For the first time in the history of Pakistan, his government survived the five-year term although it also faced several issues like:

1) PPP's government, in 2008, placed ISI under the Interior Ministry's control. But this decision was reverted due to military's pressure.

2) In 2009, Zardari concluded a deal with India about no first use of nuclear weapons.

3) Memo Gate Scandal was also an issue that led to controversies with the army. Due to this scandal, civil military relations were tensed and the army's top command controlled foreign policy towards India, Afghanistan and the USA.

Despite these issues, no military adventure occurred as both sides adopted accommodating attitude towards each other.

vii) Third government of Nawaz Sharif and the Military

Nawaz Sharif came in power as a result of May 2013 elections. Although civil military relations are accommodating towards each other for the time being, controversies arose on certain issues like:

1) Geo News Issue

2) Attack on Hamid Mir and the statement of Information Minister to support pen

3) Army was also maligned by the government because government accused army of supporting PTI's Dharna.

However, now the relations are normal because all the important issues relating to the domestic, security and foreign policy are decided in consultation with the army. Now the army prefers its role over its rule.

5. Interests of Army

i) National security and nuclear issues

Army wants its role in decision making and that its input should be considered positively in making decisions. It also wants safe control of nuclear assets therefore denies access of civilians to these assets.

ii) Foreign policy regarding India, Afghanistan and USA

Army wants its role in formulation of foreign policy regarding India on Kashmir issue, Afghanistan on Afghan war and USA on American Ally.

iii) Procurement of Military Equipment

Army also wants good and working relationships with the countries from whom it purchases it military supplies.

iv) Non-interference in administrative matters of army

Army also wants non-interference in appointments, transfers, postings and promotions of army personnel.

v) Defense expenditures

Army also wants that defense budget should not be cut off to combat security threats from India, Afghanistan and Russia.

vi) Army's perks and privileges

Army also wants that the perks and privileges (lucrative jobs after retirements, allotment of agricultural land, cantonment housing societies, appointment of military officials to top civil jobs like 10% quota is reserved in CSS for army in three major groups i.e. DMG, FSP, and PSP) it enjoys should be continued and promoted.

vii) Army's commercial and industrial activities

Army also wants to protect its share in commercial and industrial activities like FWO (Frontier Works Organization), FFC, Askari Bank, Askari Housing Societies, Fauji Foundation, NLC, and CSD stores.

6. Why military intervenes in civilian matters

i) Leadership crisis

After the death of M.A. Jinnah and the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, leadership crisis emerged which resulted in military intervention.

ii) Delay in constitution

Delay in constitutions of 1956, 1962, and 1973 and their abrogation in 1958, 1969 and 1977 respectively also led a way to military intervention.

iii) Weak institutions

Lack of procedures and processes in the state institutions and the lack of harmony among them also lead to military intervention to get the disputes settled.

iv) Weak political parties

Political parties are weak as these include industrialists and feudalists who support martial law to protect their interests.

v) Power of military and civil bureaucracy

Military has become powerful because of its emphasis on centralization, hierarchy, discipline, training and esprit de corps. Similarly, bureaucracy has also become strong while political institutions are deteriorated which also leads to military intervention.

vi) Repeated martial laws

Due to repeated martial laws, army became powerful and therefore influences civil leadership.

vii) Civilian's dependence on army

Civilian's dependence on army in case of elections, floods, earthquakes, security and law and order issues also leads to military intervention in politics.

viii) Personal interests of Politicians

Politicians in power usually focus on achieving their own interests at any cost and politicians in opposition focus on dislodging ruling politicians by any means which leads to military intervention in politics.

7. Recommendations / Way Forward

1. Laws and constitutional provisions should be placed to define civilian supremacy and control over the military command.
2. Security issues of the armed forces should be addressed positively.
3. Political parties should follow code of conduct and discipline of party members should be scrutinized.
4. Strong leadership should emerge that can control and alleviate socio-politico-economic challenges being faced by Pakistan.
5. Ethnic and religious extremism should be minimized.
6. Civilian intelligence (CIA, FIA, IB) and Law and Order agencies (Police, FC, Rangers, Judiciary and Courts) should be strengthened to minimize calling of armed forces to aid in civilian matters.
7. Military operations and national policy should be in complement to each other.
8. There should be positive role of media and judiciary.
9. There should be positive role of political parties.
10. Free and fair elections should be held.

8. Conclusion

Peaceful civil military relations are the prerequisite for the development of Pakistan. Both the stakeholders should enter into the negotiation for the gradual retreat of military from civil administration. To reciprocate, civil and political circles and media analysts should be trained to adopt a soft tone towards military in order to establish peaceful civil military relations.

What tradition military inherited?

1. Civilian supremacy over military
2. Aloofness from active politics
3. Commitment to professionalism
4. Assistance to civilians with respect to law and order and national calamities

How military gained strength?

Initial strategic steps

1. Retention of British officers
2. Quick promotion of competent officers
3. Calling back the released army personnel
4. Amalgamated regiments with common tradition, composition, and recruiting areas
5. Made fresh recruitments

Placed emphasis on:

1. Centralization
2. Hierarchy
3. Discipline
4. Training
5. Esprit de corps

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Nuclear Program of Pakistan: Safety, Security and International Concerns

1. Introduction

Apprehension of nuclear proliferation and its terrorism has increased in the world especially after the incidents of 9/11 and nuclear disasters of Fukushima and Chernobyl nuclear power plants. These incidents compelled the world to discuss safety and security of nuclear weapons on urgency basis. Although the nuclear program of Pakistan is in the safe hands, yet it has become a hot topic of discussion in the world because of the incidents of terrorism and political instability in Pakistan. The main apprehension of the world is that the nuclear program of Pakistan may come under the control of terrorists which will be dangerous for the entire world.

2. Efforts of the world to control nuclear proliferation

There are various organizations which control nuclear proliferation in the world and the most prominent of them is the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency). IAEA is responsible for the control of nuclear proliferation in the world.
Also a nuclear security summit was held in 2012 in Seoul in which 53 heads of states participated. In this summit, three main issues were discussed:

1. Measure to combat threat of nuclear terrorism
2. Protection of nuclear material and related facilities
3. Prevention of illicit trafficking of nuclear material

3. History of Nuclear Program of Pakistan

After the episode of Dhaka Debacle in 1971, it was decided by the Pakistani

government that is should have nuclear program for the security of the country. First practical step in this regard was taken by the then PM, ZA Bhutto in January 1972 when he gave the task of nuclear program of Pakistan to the PAEC Chairman Mr. Munir Ahmad Khan.

In 1974, India did her first successful atomic blasts experiments which were named 'Smiling Budha'. These experiments by India acted as catalysts for speeding up the process of development of nuclear program of Pakistan. So, to expedite the process, Dr AQ Khan was appointed the incharge of Kahota Project where the work on the nuclear program of Pakistan was being carried.

The work continued and ultimately in May 1998, just two weeks after the successful second nuclear experiments by India, Pakistan did her first successful nuclear bomb experiment in Chagi on 28 May, 1998 and second successful experiment on 30 May, 1998 and thus became the seventh nuclear power of the world.

3. Factors responsible for apprehensions about nuclear security of Pakistan

Following are the main apprehensions of the world about the nuclear program of Pakistan.

i) Incidence of 9/11

After the horrible incidence of 9/11 in USA, the western world is quite apprehensive about the nuclear security of Pakistan. It will be extremely dangerous for the world if its nuclear program comes in the hands of terrorists.

ii) Biasness of Western Media

Western media, think tanks, newspapers, and officials always paint a dark picture of Pakistan's nuclear weapons. They almost always pose that nuclear weapons of Pakistan may fall in the hands of radicals, fundamentalists, jihadis, al-qaida, or talibans which will be detrimental to the survival of the world.

iii) AQ Khan Factor

AQ Khan (atomic scientist) of Pakistan is blamed for being directly involved in proliferation of nuclear technology and know-how to Iran and Korea. The west is also terrified that atomic bomb of Pakistan may not become the Islamic A-bomb.

iv) Attacks on important military bases

In the recent past, various incidents of terrorism have occurred in the much secured areas of Pakistan especially on army and air force bases. These include attacks on GHQ in 2009, PNS Mehran Base in 2011 and Kamrah Air Base in 2012. The major concern of the world in this regard is that if such secured places can

become the target of terrorists attack, it is quite probable that nuclear program of Pakistan may also be attacked by the terrorists.

v) Rising incidents of terrorism in Pakistan

Terrorists' attacks in key cities of Pakistan like Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta have also increased which causes the international world to be apprehensive regarding the safety and security of nuclear weapons of Pakistan.

vi) Law and order issues and political instability of Pakistan

Poor law and order condition and political instability in Pakistan may lead to insurgency and civil war which may be harmful for the nuclear weapons of Pakistan and therefore are the causes of concern of the internal world regarding the safety of nuclear weapons of Pakistan

vii) Roots of Al-Qaida and Jihadi networks in Pakistan

It has also been blamed that the extremist networks including Al-Qaida may have links with some insiders of the nuclear program of Pakistan which may enable them to get access to the nuclear weapons.

viii) Comments of Pakistani nuclear pessimists and media

The propaganda of western media regarding nuclear security system of Pakistan is also coupled with the deliberate speeches of some Pakistani nuclear pessimists about the security of nuclear program of Pakistan.

For instance, in an interview with the Dawn, Perviaz Hood Bai said that jihadi networks are taking over the key nuclear installations to fulfill their political interests.

ix) Natural disasters in Pakistan

Pakistan is also situated in a geographical area where it is more prone to the threats of natural disasters like earthquakes and floods which may be detrimental to the security of nuclear installations and nuclear weapons of Pakistan. The world is quite apprehensive that if fool-proof measures are not taken to safeguard the nuclear installations against these threats then it will be not only harmful for Pakistan but also for the entire world.

4. Nuclear security system of Pakistan

Nuclear security system of Pakistan is in the safe hands like the nuclear security system of any other country. Because the NSS of Pakistan comes under various fool-proof controls, its proliferation is out of question. Followings are the main controls of NSS of Pakistan.

i) National Command Authority (NCA)

In February 2000, Pakistan National Security Council (NSA) established NCA, the

epic civilian-led authority, to supervise the employment, deployment, research and development and command and control of nuclear program of Pakistan.
NCA has taken various measures for the security and safety of nuclear program including its physical protection, control, vital infrastructure and legislation.

ii) Security division

Security division is the most important organ of strategic planning division. It is responsible for the security and protection of nuclear program of Pakistan. It comprises more than 20,000 highly trained security personnel to guard the nuclear program.

iii) Personal reliability program

The security clearance and screening process of all the individuals for the employment in all the strategic organizations has been further consolidated through the enhancements of personal reliability program.
Effective efforts have been made to break the insiders' links with the terrorist organizations. Any individual deputed in strategic task goes through multiple strategic security clearance which is almost similar to the security system of USA.

iv) Physical protection of nuclear facilities

Security division is solely responsible for the physical protection of nuclear installations. It has established a multi layer security system for this purpose. First layer encompasses security personnel of the respective organizations. In the second layer, specially trained forces operate on permanent basis in the inner perimeter and additional fencing is installed with closed circuit cameras and electronic sensors in the outer perimeter.
Apart from above mentioned security layers, air defense system is also established including the no fly zones.

v) Transportation security

Nuclear material and waste can become a potential target of terrorists when it is being transported. So, specialized vehicles and tamper-proof containers, which are escorted by military personnel, are provided for the safe transportation of nuclear material.

vi) Fissile material protection controls

Dr AQ Khan's nuclear proliferation saga has forced Pakistan to introduce strict measures for the protection of Fissile material. Today, strategic planning division (SPD) has adopted strict measures to conduct external audit on nuclear inventories on regular intervals and surprise inspections of all nuclear facilities

on irregular intervals.

vii) Export control regimes

In 2001, Pakistan established a strategic export control division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It comprises officers from customs, foreign affairs, commerce, defense, FBR in addition to the officers from PNRA and SPD. It operates independently, so the personnel will not face any conflict of interests.

viii) International agreements to prevent nuclear terrorism

Pakistan has joined many international agreements to prevent nuclear terrorism. These include US-led CSI (container security initiative) and SFI (secured freight initiatives).

ix) Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA)

PNRA was established after the promulgation of PNRA Ordinance 2001. It is an independent organization which is responsible for regulating all the aspects of radiation and nuclear energy. It also regulates and supervises all the matters related to the nuclear safety and radiation protection.

PNRA, in coordination with the IAEA, also submits and evaluates reports in compliance with the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) Resolution 1540 which calls for national measures to prevent non-state actors from obtaining dangerous weapons.

x) Radiological source security

PNRA is also given the task to protect workers against accidental or malicious acts involving nuclear material and facilities. It continuously revises and updates safety and security measures according to guidance of IAEA.

Pakistan also participates in the IAEA 'Illicit Trafficking Database' to share information on incidents involving theft, loss, pilferage of radioactive material.

xi) Nuclear plants stress tests

After Fukushima power plant disaster, debate about safety of nuclear power plant gained new pace. So, Pakistan immediately carried out IAEA recommended stress tests on civilian nuclear power plants which were quite successful.

xii) International cooperation and agreements

Pakistan has signed a number of agreements with IAEA to show its commitment and level of cooperation. The most important agreement is 'Technical Cooperation' (TC). In addition, Pakistan is one of the top three countries who received assistance of two to three million dollars annually in terms of TC. Pakistan is also among the top countries who submitted reports in obligation under UNSCR 1540.

5. How nuclear security system of Pakistan can be made more effective / Recommendations / How international concerns can be answered

i) Terrorism control

Effective steps should be taken to get rid of the devil of terrorism. Most of the international concerns will be answered automatically if we are able to get rid of terrorism.

ii) Focus on Technological improvements and Research and Development

Technical competency should be enhanced for the security of nuclear system of Pakistan. It can be achieved by focusing on technological advancements through research and development, training programs and cooperation with other technologically advanced countries like China and USA.

ii) Economic, Political and Social stability and growth

Economic, political and social stability and growth will lead to the development of prosperous Pakistan resulting in healthy, wealthy and happy people. This will contribute not only to the safety and security of Pakistan but also to the safety of nuclear security system of Pakistan.

iii) Strong legislation regarding nuclear installations

Strong legislation should be introduced relating to the rights and duties of and rewards and punishments for those who are attached with the nuclear system of Pakistan. This will also contribute to the safety of nuclear system of Pakistan

iv) Strong borders

Strong borders will help in keeping a check on foreign spies and invaders which will contribute to the security of nuclear system of Pakistan.

v) Strictly following international resolutions

Pakistan should strictly follow the international resolutions regarding the safety and security of nuclear systems. This will create a positive image of Pakistan and will help in abating the international concerns.

v) Positive role of media regarding sensitive issue

Media should play its role for building a positive image of Pakistan in the international world. It should also address and answer the concerns of the international world relating to the security of nuclear system of Pakistan by highlighting the steps taken by Pakistan to make its nuclear system safe and

secure.

6. Conclusion

In spite of all the socio-politico-economic problems of Pakistan, its nuclear program is in safe control. It is impossible to breach this control. Pakistan has unearthed every stone to make its nuclear program safe and secure. Its security mechanism is so extensive that it can pre-empt and prevent any terrorist attack in future.

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Geo Strategic Importance of Pakistan

1. Introduction

Geo strategic means the importance of a country by virtue of its geographical location to get geo-political benefits. Pakistan is located in a region which has great economic, political and strategic location. Stephen Cohn describes this importance while history has been unkind with Pakistan, its geography has been its greatest benefit. It has been the hub of great powers for the last 30 years. It has also witnessed intervention of three great powers i.e. Britain, USSR, and USA. Its significance was further enhanced during cold war when Pakistan became an ally of US Policy of containment of USSR. Now, the post-cold war era has witnessed significance of Pakistan after the 9/11 incidence.

2) Geographical description of Pakistan

Pakistan is located between 24 to 36 latitude North and between 61 to 75 longitude East. Pakistan is located in such an area that it has many important countries as its neighbors.

Toward East, India is located with 1650 Km long border (LOC) with Pakistan. Towards West, Afghanistan is located with 2250 Km long border (Durand Line). Towards North, China is located with 400 Km long border line. Pakistan is also separated from Tajikstan in North by a narrow trip (27 Km) called 'Wakhan'. Towards South, Arabian Sea is located with coastal belt of about 700 Km from Makran to Karachi. In the South West, Iran is located with 600 Km long border.

Pakistan's significance is also enhanced as it lies near Persian Gulf through which more than 65% of the world oil is produced.

East	India	2912 Km	LOC
North	China	523	Sino-Pak Border
North	Tajikstan	27	Wakhan Strip
South	Arabian Sea	1046	
South West	Iran	909	Gold Smith Line
West	Afghanistan	2430	Durand Line

Pakistan with its neighbors Map

3. Geo-strategic importance of Pakistan

i) Proximity of great powers

Pakistan is located in the junction of great powers. It has great world powers Russia and China as its neighbors. Similarly, another emerging world power India also shares long border with Pakistan. Pakistan has utilized this factor after 9/11 incidence because the US interest in this region has increased.

ii) Political importance of Pakistan

Pakistan has India, China, Russia, Iran and Afghanistan in its neighbors. These countries have enhanced the importance of Pakistan. US interests in this region have increased because it wants to contain growing China and nuclear Iran. US forces are also fighting against terrorists in Afghanistan. US also wants to capture the market of India which is a market of more than 1.25 billion

population. American think tanks have repeatedly accepted that war against terrorism cannot be won without the support of Pakistan. Thus, all above factors have increased the political importance of Pakistan.

iii) Gateway to Central Asia

Central Asia is the centre of new great game because of its oil and energy resources. Since, Pakistan is located in the hub of energy-rich countries like Iran and Central Asian Countries and energy-deficient countries like India and China, it has become a gateway to Central Asian energy resources and to the other world.

iv) A transit economy for China and CARs Countries

Pakistan has the potential to develop itself as a transit economy on account of its location. For example, China is a growing economy with growth rate of more than 9%. It is developing its southern underdeveloped provinces like Sinkiang which is 4500 Km away from China's own ports of Beijing while it is only 2500 Km away from Gawadar in Pakistan. Currently, China is going to invest $45 billion in Pakistan for CPEC from Kashighar to Gawadar because of the route savings to China.

Similarly, Central Asian Republics (CARs) are energy-rich but land-locked countries of the world. Pakistan offers shortest route to these countries (2600 Km) as compared to Iran (4500 Km) and Turkey (5000 Km). CARs can reap many benefits by using ports of Pakistan.

v) Important link in the chain of Muslim world

If we look at the world map, we find that Pakistan is located almost in the center of Islamic countries. In the west of Pakistan, Iran, Middle East and North African countries are located. In the East, South Eastern Asian muslim countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, Bangladesh etc are located. Thus, it can actively take part in the transportation of resources and economic development of the muslim world.

vi) Coastal Highway and Ports

Pakistan has 700 Km long coastal highway from Makran to Karachi. It also has three important warm water ports of Gawadar, Bin Qasim and Karachi. Gawadar has a lot of significance for China and CARs. Similarly, Karachi is also important for the world because it is refueling stop for ships apart from commercial activities. Other ports can also be constructed on coastal highways.

vii) Mountain ranges

Pakistan mountain ranges contain two biggest mountains of the world including K-2 and Nangaperbit. These mountains save Pakistan from cold Syberian winds. Also, these mountains are the source of water because all rivers of Pakistan originate from these ranges.

viii) Minerals-rich country

Pakistan is also rich in mineral resources like Gold, Copper, Salt, Coal etc. Reco Diq (believed to be the 5th largest gold mine) contains large reserves of gold and copper and rare earth minerals. Large reserves of coal are found in Thar and of salt in Kheora. Although Pakistan is rich in resources, it is poor in managing these resources.

ix) Only nuclear-capable muslim country

In the region, Pakistan is the only Muslim country having nuclear capability which has great influence on the political, socio-economic activities in the region and the maintenance of status quo in the region.

4. Geo-strategic inertia (why Pakistan is not getting benefits from its location)

Benefits accrue due to location can be obtained only when there is political, economic, and social stability in the country. Resources are properly managed and efficiently used. Law and order situation, corruption and inflation are in control. Pakistan has a lot of geo-strategic importance but, unfortunately, it is not getting its full benefits because of several factors. These factors are termed as 'Geo-strategic inertia of pakistan'.

i) Terrorism

Terrorism is the main hurdle in the way of getting benefits out of strategic location by Pakistan. Because of it, no country is willing to invest in Pakistan.

ii) Balochistan Issue

Because of poor law and order, instability and freedom movement in Balochistan, no investor is willing to invest in Balochistan – the high risk area.

iii) India as a factor

India is the biggest enemy of Pakistan and it always propagates against Pakistan. RAW (Indian intelligence agency) is also involved in Balochistan issue. Three wars have already been fought by India and Pakistan. This enmity is the main hurdle in the way of Pakistan to get benefits out of its location.

iv) Trade sanctions on Iran

Sanctions on Iran because of its denial to give up its nuclear program are also hurdle in the completion of Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline project.

v) Energy crisis

Pakistan is currently facing the severest energy crisis of all times which is also a hindrance in the way of Pakistan to get benefits of its location.

vi) Political instability

Frequent change of government on one part and enforcement of martial law on other part also disable Pakistan from getting benefits out of its strategic location.

5. Way forward / Recommendations / How to reap benefits

i) Terrorism control

Effective steps should be taken to get rid of the devil of terrorism. Strategic benefits can be achieved only when there is political, economic, and social stability in Pakistan and peace is of utmost importance for achieving stability. For achieving peace, terrorism must be eradicated from its root from Pakistan.

ii) Focus on Technological improvements and Research and Development

Technical competency and research and development can put Pakistan on the way of development which will also enable Pakistan to reap benefits due to its strategic location.

iii) Economic, Political and Social stability and growth

Economic, political and social stability and growth will lead to the development of prosperous Pakistan resulting in healthy, wealthy and happy people which will enable Pakistan to reap advantageous of its location.

iv) Focus on education

Education is very important for the development and stability of Pakistan. Pakistan should focus on the education of its people which will enable it to reap benefits of its location.

v) Resolution of Kashmir issue

Resolution of Kashmir issue will not only end almost all of the war-related tensions of Pakistan but also it will result in availability of funds for investment purposes which are otherwise being allocated for defense purposes (non-development expenditures). Resolution of Kashmir issue will help Pakistan reap benefits of its location.

vi) Ensure inter-provincial harmony and cooperation

Pakistan needs inter-provincial harmony and cooperation for achieving peace in the country which will help Pakistan in achieving benefits of its location.

vii) Positive role of media

Media should play its role for building a positive image of Pakistan in the international world which will help Pakistan in achieving benefits of its location.

viii) Get rid of energy crisis

Solution of energy crisis by exploiting water, wind, tidal, solar and nuclear sources of energy will also help Pakistan in its development and in reaping

benefits of its location.

6. Conclusion

Pakistan has great geo-strategic importance. It is located in the junction of south asia, west asia, and central asia. It is a way from energy-rich to energy-deficient countries. World is facing the problems of energy crisis and terrorism and Pakistan is on the route of energy transportation and front-line ally in war against terrorism. But, unfortunately, Pakistan is facing geo-strategic inertia, due to energy crisis, terrorism and political instability, which is a hurdle in the way of Pakistan in achieving benefits accruing it based on its location. Geo-strategic importance of Pakistan will be promoted if Pakistan is able to get rid of this geo-strategic inertia. Moreover, Pakistan has been traditionally ally of emerging economic giant; china. So in the vague of any change in world politics, Pakistan's geo-strategic significance would further be enhanced.

Pakistan is located in South Asia and is at the junction of Central Asia and Middle East, which gives its location great significance. Pakistan's total land border is 6,774 kilometres long and it borders four countries. Pakistan borders India in the east, Afghanistan and Iran in the west and China is situated at the northeast. While surrounded by land from three sides, the Arabian Sea lies in the south. Here we will focus on Pakistan's international borders and some interesting facts about them.

Pakistan-China

The border between Pakistan and China is nearly 523 kilometres long and is situated in the northeast of Pakistan. A number of agreements took place between 1961 and 1965 in which the borderline was determined between the two countries. The famous agreement called the Sino-Pakistan Agreement or the Sino-Pakistan Frontier Agreement, was passed in 1963 between Pakistan and China, according to which both countries agreed on the border between them.

Pakistan-India

The Radcliffe Line became the official border between Pakistan and India on August 17, 1947. As the border was established by Sir Cyril Radcliffe — the chairman of the Indo-Pakistan Boundary Commission — therefore it was named after him. The Pakistan-India border is almost 2,912 kilometres long. When discussing Indo-Pak border, Wagah is an important place for both countries. It is the only road border crossing between India and Pakistan, and lies on the Grand Trunk Road between the cities of Amritsar and Lahore.

Wagah is also famous for 'the lowering of the flags' ceremony which is held there every evening, and is witnessed by a large crowd from both the nations. Wagah is actually a village from which the Radcliffe line was drawn separating India and Pakistan.

Pakistan-Afghanistan

The border between Pakistan and Afghanistan is called as the Durand Line and is 2,430 kilometres long. The border came into existence in November 1893 after an agreement between Afghanistan and the British Empire. The Durand Line got its name from Sir Mortimer Durand, who was the foreign secretary of the British India. He was appointed by the government of British India in Afghanistan to resolve numerous issues — settling the border issue was one of them.

Pakistan-Iran

The border between Pakistan and Iran is also called the Pakistan-Iran Barrier and is 909 kilometres long. A concrete wall (three feet thick and 10 feet high) is currently under construction and would replace the bordering fence. The wall holds a controversial position as the people of Balochistan oppose its construction as many of their lands are situated at the Pakistan-Iran border and the wall would create hindrances for them.

The Arabian Sea

The Arabian Sea is located south of Pakistan with a coastline of 1,046-kilometres. Pakistan's Indus River drains out in the Arabian Sea. The Arabian Sea also serves as an important trade route between Pakistan and other countries, and Karachi is the major port city for conducting trade.

The **geography of Pakistan** (Urdu: جغرافیۂ پاکِستان) is a profound blend of landscapes varying from plains to deserts, forests, hills, and plateaus ranging from the coastal areas of the Arabian Sea in the south to the mountains of the Karakoram range in the north. Pakistan geologically overlaps both with the Indian and the Eurasian tectonic plates where its Sindh and Punjab provinces lie on the north-western corner of the Indian plate while Balochistan and most of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa lie within the Eurasian plate which mainly comprises the Iranian plateau, some parts of the Middle East and Central Asia. Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Kashmir lie mainly in Central Asia along the edge of the Indian plate and hence are prone to violent earthquakes where the two tectonic plates collide.

Pakistan is bordered by Afghanistan to the north-west and Iran to the west while the People's Republic of China borders the country in the north and India to the east. The nation is geopolitically placed within some of the most controversial regional boundaries which share disputes and have many-a-times escalated military tensions between the nations, e.g., that of Kashmir with India and the Durand Line with Afghanistan. Its western borders include the Khyber Pass and Bolan Pass that have served as traditional migration routes between Central Eurasia and South Asia.

Area - comparative: more than twice the size of California, slightly larger than Alberta

Land boundaries:

Maritime claims:
contiguous zone: 24 nautical miles (44 km)
continental shelf: 200 nautical miles (370 km) or to the edge of the continental margin
exclusive economic zone: 350 nautical miles (648.2 km)
territorial sea: 12 nautical miles (22 km)

Pakistan shares its borders with four neighboring countries – Afghanistan, China, India, and Iran – adding up to about 6,975 km (4,334.1 mi) in length (excluding the coastal areas).

Pakistan definitely borders Afghanistan at the Durand Line, 2,250 km (1,398.1 mi), which runs from the Hindu Kush and the Pamir Mountains. Its proposal was drafted by and named after the former secretary of British India Sir Henry Mortimer Durand. When Pakistan became independent in 1947

however, the legitimacy of the demarcation was questioned and disputed by Afghans and the *Pakhtun* or *Pashtun* tribes. Afghanistan claimed the border was imposed upon their weak nation by stronger influences and favoured the establishment of another separatist state to be called *Pakhtunistan*.[1] The Durand Line remained disputed until 1994 when it was finally accepted. A narrow strip of Afghan-occupied Gorno-Badakhshan territory called the Wakhan Corridor extends between Pakistan and Tajikistan.[2] From the eastern tip of the Wakhan Corridor starts the Sino-Pak border between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan spanning about 510 km (316.9 mi). It carries on south-eastward and ends near the Karakoram Pass. This line was determined from 1961 to 1965 in a series of agreements between China and Pakistan and finally on 03-03-1963 both the governments, of Islamabad and Beijing, formally agreed. It is understood that if the dispute over Kashmir is resolved, the border would need to be discussed again.[2]

The boundary with Iran, 912 km (566.7 mi), was first delimited by a British commission in the same year as the Durand Line was demarcated, separating Iran from what was then British India's Baluchistan province.[2] Modern Iran has a province named Sistan va Baluchistan that borders Pakistan and has Baluchis in an ethnic majority. In 1957 Pakistan signed a frontier agreement with Iran in Rawalpindi according to which the border was officially declared and the two countries haven't had this border as a subject of serious dispute at all. The Northern Areas has five of the world's seventeen highest peaks along with highest range of mountains the Karakoram and Himalayas. It also has such extensive glaciers that it has sometimes been called the "Third Pole". The international border-line has been a matter of pivotal dispute between Pakistan and India ever since 1947, and the Siachen Glacier in northern Kashmir has been an important arena for fighting between the two sides since 1984, although far more soldiers have died of exposure to the cold than from any skirmishes in the conflict between their National Armies facing each other.

The Pakistan-India ceasefire line runs from the Karakoram Pass west-southwest to a point about 130 kilometers northeast of Lahore. This line, about 770 kilometers long, was arranged with United Nations (UNO) assistance at the end of the Indo-Pakistani War of 1947-48. The ceasefire line came into effect on January 1, 1949, after eighteen months of fighting between Indian forces and Afridi tribals which Pakistan had sent to occupy Kashmir and was last adjusted and agreed upon by the two countries according to the Simla Agreement of July 2, 1972 between Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Since then, it has been generally known as the Line of Control or the (LoC).

The Pakistan-India boundary continues irregularly southward for about 1,280 kilometers, following the line of the 1947 Radcliffe Award, named for Sir Cyril Radcliffe, the head of the British boundary commission on the division of the Punjabs of Pakistan and in united Bengal of India into Pakistan's Eastern wing of Mashriqi-Pakistan on 13 August 1947. Although this boundary with India referring only to present-day Pakistan and not aimed at formerly East Pakistan borders except only all three governments claiming the status of the district of Firozpur and Pathankot between Pakistan and India. It remains another unresolved issue although it is not formally disputed; passions still run very

high indeed on both sides of the international border. Many had expected the original boundary line to run farther to the west, thereby ceding the Lahore region to India, possibly granting them all of Gujranwala Division: Sialkot, Narowal, Gujrat, districts and Sheikhupura, Okara, Kasur districts of Lahore Division; and others had expected the line to run much farther east, possibly granting them control of Delhi, the imperial capital of the Mughal Empire including an east Punjab state for Sikhs of their own to govern.

The southern borders are far less contentious than those in northern Pakistan (Kashmir). The Thar Desert in the province of Sindh is separated in the south from the salt flats of the Rann of Kachchh (Kutch) by a boundary that was first delineated in 1923-24. After independence and dissolution of Empire, Independent and free Pakistan contested the southern boundary of Sindh, and a succession of border incidents resulted. They were less dangerous and less widespread, however, than the conflict that erupted in Kashmir in the Indo-Pakistani War of August 1965 started with this decisive core of issues. These southern hostilities were ended by British mediation during Harold Wilson's era, and both sides accepted the award of the Indo-Pakistan Western Boundary Case Tribunal designated by the UN secretary general himself. The tribunal made its award on February 19, 1968; delimiting a line of 403 kilometers that was later demarcated by joint survey teams, Of its original claim of some 9,100 square kilometers, Pakistan was awarded only about 780 square kilometers. Beyond the western terminus of the tribunal's award, the final stretch of Pakistan's border with India is about 80 kilometers long, running east and southeast of Sindh to an inlet of the Arabian Sea.

Geographical regions

Pakistan is divided into three major geographic areas: the northern highlands; the Indus River plain, with two major subdivisions corresponding roughly to the provinces of Punjab and Sindh; and the Balochistan Plateau. Some geographers designate additional major regions. For example, the mountain ranges along the western border with Afghanistan are sometimes described separately from the Balochistan Plateau, and on the eastern border with India, south of the Sutlej River, the Thar Desert may be considered separately from the Indus Plain. Nevertheless, the country may conveniently be visualized in general terms as divided in three by an imaginary line drawn eastward from the Khyber Pass and another drawn southwest from Islamabad down the middle of the country. Roughly, then, the northern highlands are north of the imaginary east-west line; the Balochistan Plateau is to the west of the imaginary southwest line; and the Indus Plain lies to the east of that line.

Elevation extremes:
lowest point: Indian Ocean 0 m
highest point: K2 (Mt. Godwin-Austin) 8,611 m

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Pak-US relations after 9/11

1. Introduction

Although the history of Pak-US relations has witnessed many ups and downs, yet post 9/11 settings have brought fragility (easily damageable or destroyable) to this relationship. There are clearly visible domains of strategic convergence and divergence. Even if global war on terrorism (GWOT) has provided opportunity for establishing close and lasting Pak-US relations, yet there is a trust deficit in Pak-US relations. This may also be called 'Interest-Based Relations'.

2) History of Pak-US relations

When Pakistan was created in 1947, it had two options; either to go towards USSR or to join USA block. There were doubts whether USSR will provide military and technical help to Pakistan or not. So, Pakistan decided to go with the USA block. In 1950, USA invited Pakistan's PM Liaquat Ali Khan which he accepted. So Pakistan joined USA block.

From 1950-1953, various important personality of Pakistan including Commander in Chief Ayub Khan, Finance Minister Gulam Muhammad, and Foreign Minister Zafar Ullah Khan visited USA. In 1954, Pakistan joined defense treaty 'SEATO' and in 1955 it joined 'CENTO'; both were for the containment of USSR.

In 1956, Pakistan handed over Peshawar Air Base to USA for intelligence gathering against USSR. As a result of CENTO and SEATO, Pakistan got a lot of military aid. Situation became tensed due to U-2 incidence in 1960 when a spy plane was captured by USSR. But soon good relations were restored with the USA and Pakistan got a lot of economic and military aid. In 1965, relations became tensed again between two countries because of Pakistan-India War as USA blocked Pakistani aid. From 1971 to 1977, relations were again deteriorated because of socialistic ideas of ZA Bhutto and nuclear issues of Pakistan.

From 1977 to 1988, Pak-US relations were at the climax because of Russia-Afghan War. CIA and ISI were together at operation 'Cyclone' that was for the containment of Russia. Pakistan got a lot of economic and military aid.

From 1988 to 1999, Pak-US relations remained tensed, overall, because of Pressler Amendments, good India-US relations, US aid to Taliban, and ultimately due to Pakistan's nuclear experiments at Chagi 1 and Chagi 2. All the military aid was stopped and sanctions were imposed on Pakistan.

3. Pak-US relations after 9/11

Incidence of 9/11 (2001) gave a new dimension to Pak-US relations. Pakistan became front line ally of USA in WOT. After 9/11, Gen. Pervaiz Musharaf was pressurized by USA to join it in WOT. Pakistan decided to join USA on WOT because USA had clearly said that either you were with us or with the terrorists. As a result, Pakistan gained a lot of economic and military aid and USA waived US $1 Billion of debt to Pakistan in a ceremony in which Pakistan joined WOT. So, new relationship between Pakistan and USA were started after the nuclear explosions by Pakistan.

> **"New relationship between Pakistan and USA is not just about 9/11. It is about the rebirth of long term partnership between two countries."**
>
> **Nancy Powell USA Ambassdor to Pak**

Pakistan provided logistic support as well as air bases to USA against Taliban and also captured many terrorists. Thus both countries had good relationship.

4. Irritants in Pak-US relationship after 9/11

Although 9/11 incidence brought new dimensions to Pak-USA relations and Pakistan became the only non-NATO ally of USA on WOT, yet Pak-US relations have oscillated between good and bad because of trust deficit issues. followings were the main irritants between Pak-US relations after 9/11.

i) Blame Game

USA blamed ISI of supporting Jihadis and giving them information to escape in advance of USA attack. It also blamed Pakistani agencies of supporting Hakani Network.

> **"Pakistan army is not going all-out in cracking down Al-Qaida leadership"**
>
> **Henry Clinton**

ii) Cross-Border Terrorism

Terrorists would attack in one country and got advantage of cross-border to hide in other country. USA almost always blamed Pakistan for giving shelter to the militants.

iii) Drone Attacks

Drone attacked by USA had been great irritants in Pak-US relations. Pakistanis considered drone attacks a break of their territorial integrity. USA even kept doing drone attacks despite the resolution passed by national assembly of Pakistan.

iv) Bombay Attacks

In November 2008, Pak-US relations were strained due to Bombay attacks

because India blamed that Pakistani agencies were behind the plot.

v) Strong Pak-China Ties

Pakistan has great geo-strategic importance for China. Pak-China relations have been very good and are continuously becoming strong which act are irritants between Pak-US relations because USA never wants close Pak-China ties.

vi) USA denial of Nuclear deal to Pakistan

Pakistan wants a civil nuclear deal with USA, on Indian model, which the USA is continuously denying.

vii) Raymond Davis Saga

Raymond Davis, a Private US spy contractor, killed two innocent people in Lahore. US Government sought clearance of Raymond Davis when Pakistani government denied because of public pressure. Ultimately, US gave 'Diyat' to the parents of the victims.

viii) Usama Bin Ladon Episode

UBL was caught and killed in Abbotabad by US forces without informing Pakistani government. US blamed Pakistan that UBL was there in Pakistan with the help of the army.

ix) Dr. Shakeel Afridi Episode

Dr. Shakeel provided information about the presence of UBL in Pakistan to the USA and is under 35-year sentence in Pakistan. US want his relase.

x) Issue of Blasphemy (caricature)

US citizen became the victim of blasphemy when he made caricature of our Holy Prophet (PBUH). US government failed to tackle the issue of blasphemy despite several requests from Pakistan government. US justifies it declaring it the universal freedom of voice of human beings. This also acted as irritant between Pak-US relations.

xi) US attacks on Pakistan Check Posts

On 26 November 2011, USA attacked on Pakistani check posts where 24 soldiers were killed. USA refused to ask pardon from Pakistan on this sad incidence. It was an irritant in Pak-US relations.

xii) US repeated requests for operation against Hakani Network

US also made repeated request for operating in North Waziristan against Hakani Network. It was an irritant because Pakistani army kept delaying this operation.

5. Positive aspects of Pak-US relations after 9/11

Pakistan and US are ally on war on terror and both depend upon each other for success. Although there are certain irritants, yet there are certain positive points

in Pak-US relations after 9/11.

i) Military aid to Pakistan

Till 2010, Pakistan got more than $20 Billion in aid, out of which 80% was for defense purposes. Pakistan was allowed to buy F-16 jets. Pakistan was also given C130 planes, radars, missiles and missile technology. Pakistani soldiers also got training from USA.

ii) Civil Aid

Pakistan also got aid of more than $5 Billion for civilian projects like upgradation of Terbela Dam and Thermal power stations, eradication of Polio and other diseases, and improvement of education.

iii) Access to US markets

US also allowed access of Pakistani products to its markets. In 2010, exports to US market was $3.26 Billion.

iv) Carry Lugar Bill

According to CLB, Pakistan was given a total of $7.5 Billion in aid, $1.5 per year, for civil and military purposes.

v) Operation Zarb-e-Azab

Pakistani army has also undertaken the operation of Zarb-e-Azab which was long demanded by the US. It has improved the relationship between Pakistan and USA.

6. Current situation of Pak-US relations 2014-2015

Currently, the Pak-US relations are good because of the following reasons:

1. Pakistani army has also undertaken the operation of Zarb-e-Azab which was long demanded by the US. It has improved the relationship between Pakistan and USA and it has broken the backbone of Hakani Network.
2. USA used drone missiles to kill militants especially the most wanted militant Molana Fazl Ullah in Nov 2014.
3. USA also handed over Taliban Commander Latif Mehmood that was wanted by Pakistan.
4. Currently, COAS Gen Reheel Sharif has a long visit to USA which was also fruitful to strengthen the relations between both the countries.

7. How Pak-US relations can be further improved

Pak-US relations are based on GWOT, some mutual interests, and strategic challenges. These relations can be strengthened by certain measures from both sides.

1. Gap between Pakistan public sentiments and state policy should be bridged.
2. Relations with Afghanistan should be improved.

3. Both countries should respect each other's sentiments.
4. US should play its role in making good the Pak-India relations.
5. USA should final a nuclear deal with Pakistan as it has with India.
6. Pakistan should also look for other options for support like China and other rich Islamic countries.
7. All-out efforts should be made by Pakistan, India, USA, China and Afghanistan for political stability in Afghanistan.
8. Pakistan should improve socio-economic-politico and education facilities in FATA.
9. US should give maximum aid to Pakistan for its socio-economic development, rehabilitation of IDPS, and improvement of education.
10. Kashmir issue should be resolved according to the UN resolutions and will of the Kashmiris.

8. Conclusion

Although Pakistan and US are strong ally on WOT, yet Pak-US relations are interest based which should be improved for long-term benefits of both the countries. To enable this, both countries should become sensitized to each other's sentiments. Effective steps should be taken to avoid conflicts and to improve the relationship.

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Economic challenges of Pakistan

1. Introduction

Healthy economy is very important for the economic, political and social development of a country. It contributes to sustained economic development, political stability, national security and social welfare and minimizes economic, political and social disparity. Although Pakistani economic indicators are improving now-a-days, yet the overall situation in Pakistan relating to economy is

not very much encouraging. Pakistan economy is suffering from various problems like fiscal deficit, trade deficit, inflation, high indebtedness, deprecation of rupee, unemployment and various other severe economic problems. Although government has taken various steps for overcoming these economic challenges, yet further effective steps must be taken to overcome the economic challenges being faced by Pakistani society and to turn Pakistan into a developed country.

2. Overview of the Economy (2014-2015)

The revival of growth that started in 2013-14 has accelerated in 2014-15 as per latest indicators released by the National Accounts Committee. Fiscal year 2014-15 registered some remarkable achievements. Inflation hit the single-digit level at 4.8 percent. The policy rate decelerated at 7 percent which was lowest in last 42 years, capital market created history, grading by international rating agencies improved, historical agreement with Chinese Government on China Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC), successfully reviews with IMF, issuance of Ijara Sakuk Bond after a period of 9 year, decline in unemployment rate from 6.2 to 6.0 percent etc.

These achievements are made under various challenges like security challenges for which the government and people are paying heavy price both in cash and kind, along with unprecedented weather behavior, Dharna politics and political turmoil.

The current account deficit stood at $ 1.364 billion (0.6% of GDP) in July-April 2014-15. However, trade deficit was 0.7 percent, exports were $ 20.176 billion, and imports were $ 34.086 billion.

Government also sold Euro bonds, sovereign Sukuk bonds in the international market. A narrowing deficit stabilized the country's foreign exchange reserves, as well as the value of Rupee, which has been hovering at Rs. 101/US dollars since January this year.

This government is getting monetary support from USA, IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and IBRD. This government is also following the strategy of privatization. It has appointed Financial Advisor (FAs) for privatisation of Islamabad Electric Supply Co. (IESCO), National Power Generation Co. LTD (NPGCL), National Power Construction Corp. (NPCC) and PIA.

3) Economic challenges of Pakistan

Although Fiscal year 2014-15 registered some remarkable achievements, yet

Pakistani economy is facing various challenges discussed below.

i) Fiscal Deficit

Fiscal deficit for 2014-15 (Jul-Mar) was 3.8% of GDP (Rs. 1049 Billion). Total revenues were 9.8% of GDP (Rs 2682 Billion) while total expenditures were 13.6% of GDP (Rs. 3731 Billion). Pakistan is persistently facing the problem of fiscal deficit for decades. It is a hurdle in the way of economic development.

ii) Trade Deficit

Trade deficit for 2014-15 (Jul-Mar) was 4.7% of GDP (Rs. 1287 Billion). Total exports were 6.7% of GDP (Rs. 1835 Billion) while total imports were 11.4% of GDP (Rs. 3122 Billion), whereas current A/C deficit was 0.5% of GDP for the same period. Pakistan is persistently facing the problem of trade deficit for decades. It is a hurdle in the way of economic development.

iii) Inflation

Inflation rate for 2014-15 (Jul-Mar) was 4.8% (growth % of CPI). High inflation rate results in high interest rate which increases required rate of return and makes investments unattractive. Thus, inflation has been a hurdle in the way of economic development of Pakistan.

iv) Public debt and debt servicing

To meet the trade and fiscal deficit, government would raise funds. Public debt for 2014-15 (Jul-Mar) was Rs 16,936 Billion (61.8% of GDP) in which domestic debt was Rs. 11,932 Billion and external debt was Rs. 5,004 Billion. Debt servicing was Rs. 1,193 Billion. To get rid of public debt and its servicing is a big challenge for any government.

v) Depreciation of money and increase in exchange rate

Rupee depreciated during 2014-15 (Jul-Mar) by 2.9% and exchange rate hovered around $100 during the said period. Weak currency also poses economic challenge to Pakistani economy. Weak currency makes imports costly.

vi) Unemployment

Population was estimated at 192 million people till May 2015 and it increased by 1.92% for 2015. Labor force was estimated at 60 million and unemployment rate was estimated at 6%. Getting rid of high rate of population increase and unemployment has also been a challenge for Pakistan.

vii) Low level of investments

Savings are precondition for investments. Pakistan is a consumption oriented society. Total consumption expenditures were 91% of GDP. Domestic savings were 8.4% of GDP while total investments were 15.12% of GDP, the gap between savings and investments was financed by foreign source inflows which included

FDI and loans.

viii) Energy crisis

Energy is the backbone and life-blood of economy. Pakistan faced severe energy shortfall during 2014-15. Shortfall was around 6000 MW in summer and around 2500 MW in winter. Inability to exploit natural resources for getting energy also presents challenge to Pakistani economy. Low levels of investments were also partly due to energy crises.

ix) Low per capita income

Per capita income in Pakistan during 2014-15 was $1512 which is very low compared to the per capita incomes of USA, UAE, UK, Japan, Germany, India and China. Low per capita income also questions the so-called economic development of Pakistan.

x) Low GDP growth rate

Growth rate of GDP (Jul-Mar) for 2014-15 was 4.24%. Major sectors which contributed to GDP were agriculture, manufacturing, industry, and services and these grew by 2.9, 3.2, 3.2, and 5% respectively. These growth rates are low when compared to the similar variables growth rates of India, Sri Lanka, China, and Japan.

xi) Capital flight

Outflow of capital from the economy is also a challenge to Pakistani economy. Various reasons for the outflow of capital are energy crises, terrorism, corruption, poor law and order situation, political instability, red-tapism, and money laundering. Outflow of capital is detrimental to the economic development as it reduces level of investment in the economy which leads to unemployment, reduction in production level and exports, and ultimately to poverty.

xii) Dependence of agriculture sector

Pakistan still depends too much on agriculture. For instance, agriculture constitutes 20.9% share in GDP and 43.5% of employment. It also provides various crops like cotton, wheat, rice, sugarcane, maize, and gram for exports. It also includes livestock, fisheries and forestry. Since agriculture is mostly dependent on favorable environmental conditions, our most of the economy is at mercy of the nature.

xiii) Want of infrastructure

Although Pakistan has transport system in place including roadways (roads-highways, motorways, expressways and strategic roads and railways-452 locomotives, 1732 passenger coaches, 15948 freight wagons), airways (PIA)and seaways and Ports(Gawadar, Bin Qasim, and Karachi), yet there is a dire need to

develop more for supporting and enhancing the economic development.
Similarly, Pakistan also needs effective and speedy communication system in place. Although 3G/4G is introduced in many big cities, yet much more needs to be done to make Pakistan fully digitized.

4) Steps taken by the government to overcome these challenges

Following are the steps taken by the government to overcome the challenges being faced by Pakistani economy:

1. Pakistani government has signed MoUs with China for energy projects and CPEC in Pakistan.
2. Pakistani government has invested in various energy-production projects like Jamshoro Power Generation Project, Dasu Hydropower Stage-I Project, Neelam-Jehlam and Diamir-Basha hydropower projects, Solar park, Thar coal development project.
3. Government has also made arrangements for the import of LNG from Qatar, Gas from Iran and Turkmenistan.
4. Government has adopted the policy of liberalization, de-regulation, privatization, and facilitation for boosting the economic development.
5. Government has undertaken various education, skill, health and business development projects like:
    a. Hunarmand Pakistan Program
    b. Merit and Need based scholarship programs
    c. PM's Fee Reimbursement Scheme
    d. Health programs for Malaria, Polio, TB, AIDS, and Food Nutrition
    e. Family planning programs
    f. PM's Small Business Loans
    g. Interest Free Loans Schemes
    h. Provision of Laptops
    i. Youth Skill Development Scheme
    j. National Internship Program
    k. Apna Rozgar Scheme
    l. Metro-Bus Systems in Lahore and Islamabad-Rawalpindi.
    m. Introduction of 3G/4G technology in Pakistan
6. Government is following the strategy of sustained poverty reduction
7. Government has established Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund
8. 18th amendment has given subject of Zakat to provinces

9. Government has made National Climate Change Policy and is following National Impact Assessment Program.
10. Government has established National Water Commission to manage water resources effectively. It is also trying to increase water storage and minimize its wastage.
11. Government is also following 3R's strategy (Reduce, Recycle, and Reuse) for solid waste management.

5) Further recommendations to improve the situation

1. Government should give more importance to manufacturing, industry and services sectors. Reliance on agriculture should be minimized.
2. Government should control expenditures and increase its revenue by increasing its tax base.
3. Government should encourage exports of finished goods and import of capital goods; and discourage imports of consumption goods.
4. Governments should try to minimize and get rid of all the debt. It should adopt the policy of self-reliance and self-dependence.
5. Inflation should be controlled.
6. Skill and training should be provided to the youth along with the creation of jobs.
7. Infrastructure should be built.
8. Energy crisis should be resolved. Focus should be given on creation of energy from renewable sources of energy like solar, wind, tidal, water, and biomass.
9. War against terrorism should be won at any cost.
10. 'Education for All' should be practically implemented with due diligence and will.
11. Law and order situation should be made good.
12. Corruption should be discouraged and got rid of.
13. Political stability and true democracy should be ensured.

6) Conclusion

Although government is taking effective steps for overcoming economic challenges, yet all-out efforts are needed for sustained economic development and growth. No stone should be left turned for achieving this objective. This is only through overcoming the economic challenges that we can realize the dream of prosperous and developed Pakistan.

Note: GDP for 2014-15 (Jul-Mar) was Rs. 27,384 Billion.

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Major security challenges to Pakistan

1. Introduction

Security is a prerequisite for progress and prosperity of a nation. Unfortunately, since inception, security of Pakistan has been under serious threats. Security situation of Pakistan has further deteriorated after the Pakistan's indulgence in WOT. Currently, Pakistan is facing many security challenges like terrorism, balochistan issue, Indian threat etc which are deteriorating social-economic-political fabric of the country. Impact of globalization, complex economic interdependence and events after 9/11 have brought a major shift in security perceptions in Pakistan. Almost all of the economic, political and social problems being faced by Pakistan are due to these security challenges. These security challenges must be combat to put the Pakistan on the way of development.

2. Internal security challenges

Internal security concerns caused by resurgence of extremism, ethnic polarization, socio-economic problems, and political instability, have assumed far greater importance than external security threats to Pakistan. Though India continues to pose serious military challenge, which compounds Pakistan's security, however, Pakistan's immediate threat grows from within, i.e., from its internal security problems. Following are the major internal security challenges being faced by Pakistan.

i) Ethnic nature of Pakistan

Each province has its own culture, language, and history. Pakistan is a state with the ethnic cocktail of Sindhis, Punjabis, Balochistan, Pakhtoons, Bengalis and refugees from India. Language and cultural factors are often not supportive of the growth of single nationalism in these provinces.

ii) Separatist movements

There are separatist movements in the country. Currently, there are Sarieki movement in Punjab and Pushtunistan movement backed by Afghan government. Balochi, Sindhi and Mohajir movements are also quite active and pose serious threat to the integrity of the state. Moreover, in the past, there had been separatism movements of Bengal which led to the creation of Bangladesh.

iii) PROBLEMS IN BALOCHISTAN

Balochistan is Pakistan's largest province, equal in size to Italy, having the

smallest population. Its population comprises of native Balochis and Pashtoons. Pashtoons in Northwestern Balochistan have gained in political influence as their numbers have increased, by Afghan refugees, especially in the capital city of Quetta. The major issue is the Baloch objection to “One Unit” which leads to violent confrontation between Baloch and Pashtoons. Ethnic identity maintenance is laying the ground for tribal insurgencies in the province.

iv) ETHNICITY IN SINDH

The major problems in Sindh are: Sindhi’s Resentment against Non-Sindhis, Mohajirs (non-sindhis), and Violence in Sindh. In short span of time, Mohajirs, being better educated and motivated as compared to local Sindhis, have gained hold on bureaucracy and education system in Sindh. Sindhis have started feeling like “American Indians” in their own province. So Sindhis have started Sinidhi nationalism against Mohajirs whereas Mohajirs have formed formed MQM to preserve their identity. Influx of arms in Afghan Jihad in 1980 is also leading to riots between Sindhis, Mohajirs, Pathans and Punjabis.

v) INTER-PROVINCIAL DISHARMONY

Demographically, Punjab is the biggest province of Pakistan, and Punjabis occupy strategic positions in country’s bureaucratic and military sub-systems. They have manipulated political, economic and social policies in such a way that their power is maximized. Such Punjabi “colonialism” is being exploited by non-Punjabi ethnic political elites and this has led to the “us” and “them” syndrome. The imbalance between the Punjab and other provinces has been a major source of ethnic problems.

Main issues among provinces are:

1. Army is dominated by Punjabis and Pakhtoons and Balochis and Sindhis are under-represented.
2. There are water issues (Indus water) between Punjab and Sindh and NWFP as they blame that Punjab consumes bulk of the country’s water.
3. There is issue between Punjab, Sindh and NWFP regarding construction of Kalabagh Dam.
4. There is the issue of royalties from natural resources. Balochistan produces natural gas, Sindh is country’s largest producer of oil, and the NWFP is the site of major hydroelectric projects. But these provinces are getting only a small fraction of realities and are not satisfied with the distribution of royalties.
5. Many of the specific grievances of Balochis are related to the exploitation

of their natural resources especially the Sui gas field.

vi) SECTARIAN PROBLEMS

Jinnah wanted to see Pakistan a moderate, secular, and forward-looking country. He said on 11 August 1947,

> **"Religion would have nothing to do with the business of state".**

Pakistan's population is approximately 77 percent Sunni and 22 percent Shia. Some 3 percent are non-Muslims. These include small Hindu, Christian, and Parsi minorities and the Ahmadi community.

Major sectarian problems are the Shiya-Sunni confrontations which cost lives and property. Major confrontations are taking place in Karachi, Quetta, Lahore and Jhang. Most of the attacks are being made on Imam Barghas and Mosques. Target killing is also common.

Moreover, since Pakistan joined the US coalition against terrorism, anti-Christian and anti-Western terrorist acts have increased in Pakistan like killing of Daniel Pearl, Wall Street Journal reporter; a grenade attack on a Protestant church in Islamabad; and incidences of Badami Bagh and Kahna.

vii) SOME UNREGISTERED MADRASSAHS IN PAKISTAN

Today there are five major Islamic schools of thought in Pakistan: Deobandi, Bareilvi, Ahle-Hadith/Wahhabi, Salafi, and Shia. Each sect has its madrassahs in which they teach their own version of Islam.

The problem of madrassah education has two distinct aspects- the first is the ability of the students to earn a living, and second is the relationship between certain (10-15%) madrassahs and radical militant groups.

These Madrassahs are being used by scholars to promote and spread their own philosophy of waging jihad against non-Muslims and against other Muslims sects to whom they consider as Kafir.

viii) JIHADI CULTURE AND TALIBANIZATION

President Pervez Musharraf said;

> **"the only threat is sectarian and religious terrorism which is eating us like termites and it is Islam and the Muslim Ummah (community) which is paying the high cost. We all have to fight against it."**

Jihad and Islamiazation was promoted during afghan jihad to disintegrate Soveit Union.

Due to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan became a sandwich between India (East) and Russia in Afghanistan (West). President Zia decided to support jihad as conceived by the United States.

Geo-strategic compulsions and economic interests brought Pakistan, USA, Saudi Arabia, and China on a common platform to support the Afghan Mujahideen. It was United States in particular who extended political, economic, and military assistance to Pakistan during this entire war. Meanwhile the Kashmir issue also promoted Jihadi culture.

These days, Jihadi culture has two dimensions. At *international level*, these jihadi organizations promote anti Western sentiments and call for jihad against the West. The motivational ideological force is that Muslims in Pakistan cannot remain indifferent to the sufferings of their brethren in the occupied land or elsewhere. These organizations are waging jihad in Kashmir, Chechnya, Bosnia and Afghanistan.

At a domestic level, these groups try to create an Islamic state within state. There are international concerns of Talibanization of Pakistan which means the chances of taking over the control of Pakistan by jihadis, because Jihadi groups in Mohammed and Bajor Agencies have declared that they would not allow any anti-Taliban elements, military or civilian, to enter their areas.

ix) FATA situation

FATA is the hot area under WOT. Here, Pakistan is facing the problems of terrorism, IDPs, destructed infrastructure and Talibanization.

x) Political unrest

Pakistan is also facing the problems of political instability due to various reasons like election riggings, dharna politics, lack of accountability, corruption, and conflict over natural resources.

xi) War on terrorism

Taliban were created when President Zia agreed to help US with training mujahideen in their fight against the USSR in Afghanistan. The United States and Saudi Arabia funneled some $3.5 billion into Afghanistan and Pakistan during the Afghan war.[128] Madrassahs rapidly proliferated throughout Pakistan, most notably in Afghan refugee camps in NWFP and Balochistan where future Taliban leaders were trained

xii) Weak state institution

State institutions are becoming weak. Police, Judiciary and NAB are becoming weak due to political hiring, deteriorated civilian relations due to misuse of power, corruption, low salaries and lack of modern equipment.

xiii) Economic challenges—interdependence of economy and internal security

Threats to the security of people include potential or actual conflict, population displacement, economic deprivation, unemployment, deterioration of basic services, human rights violations, etc

3) External security challenges

i) India's threat

Major issues which are bone of contention between India and Pakistan are: Kashmir issue, Water issue, Race of weapons, India-US civil nuclear deal, India's efforts to gain hegemony in the region, and maintaining Balance of power in the region.

ii) Afghan crisis

Major conflicting issues between Pakistan and Afghanistan are: Taliban issue, Border issue, Political stability of Afghanistan and issue of Afghan Refugees.

iii) CIA-Intelligence agency of USA

CIA also poses security challenge to Pakistan as it is expected that it wants to steal information about nuclear weapons of Pakistan; it wants to destabilize Pakistan; and It wants to use Pakistan for its own interests.

Iv) Weak relations with Iran

Relations with Iran are weak because of: Shiya-Sunni differences, Nuclear program pursuit by Iran, and International sanctions on Iran.

v) Threat from Russia and Israel

Both are against Pakistan: Russia because of Afghan War 1979-89 and Israel due to Pakistan being the Muslim and nuclear country. They may be expected to be involved in proxy war against Pakistan.

4) Impact of security challenges

1. These have led to poor law and order situation.
2. These have led to low level of investments and capital flight.
3. These have led to devastating effect on economy of Pakistan.
4. These have led to mind-sickness of people and have increased sense of insecurity.
5. These have led to provincial disharmony.
6. These have led to invasion in Pakistan by USA and India.

5) Recommended Solutions to overcome the security challenges

1. Government should make its borders strong to prevent foreign interference.
2. Law-enforcement agencies should be provided with funds and modern equipment and their employees should be trained.
3. Foreign policy should defend the rights of Pakistan.
4. China is time-tested friend of Pakistan. Help from China may be sought rather than from USA.
5. Effective steps should be taken for achieving economic stability.
6. Provinces should be given autonomy and their due rights to promote provincial harmony.
7. Strong legislation is needed for the hanging and punishment of terrorists.
8. Media and intellectuals should not create hype of terrorists.
9. Government should take steps to dismantle the infrastructure of Jihadi groups.
10. Government should register all the Madrassahs. Government should also implement reforms in the Madrassah.

6) Conclusion

Various internal and external security challenges being faced by Pakistan are badly affecting its socio-politico-economic fabric. No stone should be left turned for combating these challenges. This is only through overcoming the security challenges that we can realize the dream of prosperous and developed Pakistan.

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Non-traditional security threats

1. Introduction

Non-traditional security (NTS) may be perceived as the challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources, such as climate change, cross-border environmental degradation and

resource depletion, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, drug smuggling, people trafficking and other forms of transnational crime. NTS threats present a severe challenge to the social welfare, economic development and political stability of a country. Examples of major NTST include Hurricane Katrina in US, Earthquake of 2005 and Floods of 20101 in Pak, Asian Financial crises of 1997, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) outbreak of 2002-2003, and tsunami triggered Fukushima disaster of 2010 and global recession of 2007. NTST are mainly global / transnational in nature. Regrettably, there is lack of global institutions with clear mandate and scope of work to tackle the issues of non-traditional security threats. There is a need of good governance system to overcome these NTST.

2. Major non-traditional security threats

Generally, six broad branches of NTST have been identified namely: International terrorism, Transnational organized crime, Environmental security, Illegal migration, Energy security, and Human society. NTST are unpredictable, low probability and high-impact events.

At a seminar on 'Non-traditional security threats: global governance system to combat the challenges' organized by Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) following non-traditional security threats, being faced by Pakistan, were mentioned by the authorities including Shakeel Ahmad Ramay (SDPI's Senior Research Associate), Kakakhel (Former UN assistant secretary-general), and Akram Zaki (former foreign secretary). These include:

1. **Climate change**

   In Pakistan, climate change has resulted in changing monsoon patterns, melting glaciers, rising sea levels, desertification of land and increase in water scarcity.

2. **Natural disasters**

   Due to climate change and extreme weather conditions there has been increase in floods, droughts, storms, cyclones.

3. **Resource scarcity**

   Non-renewable natural resources like oil, gas, coal, minerals etc are continuously decreasing which pose challenge to the economic stability of Pakistan.

4. **Water scarcity**

   Due to population increase, urbanization, tube-well irrigation, and lack of reservoirs, Pakistan is facing the problem of water scarcity.

5. **Infectious diseases**

   Infectious diseases like TB, HIV, Malaria, Measles, and Polio present non-

traditional challenge to the population of Pakistan.

6. **Irregular migrations**
   Unplanned urbanization is creating the problems of law and order. It is leading to increase in crime rates and traffic problems.
7. **Food shortages**
   In future, Pakistan can face the problem of food shortage due to increase in population, drought, floods, and desertification of lands.
8. **Terrorism**
   Increase in terrorism and extremism due to domestic socio-economic-politico deterioration and foreign factors is a severe NTST to the survival of Pakistan.
9. **Population explosion**
   Large population and high growth rate is creating the challenges of pure drinking water, space for housing, and problems relating to education, health and jobs.
10. **Poverty**
    In Pakistan, a large number of people live below the poverty line. Poverty poses NTS challenge to socio-economic-politico stability of Pakistan.
11. **People trafficking and Drug smuggling**
    Illegal inflow and outflow of people and drugs also pose serious non-traditional challenge to the security of Pakistan. People trafficking may lead to increase in terrorism and drug smuggling may lead to poor health condition in the country.
12. **Deteriorating economic conditions**
    Weak economic condition of Pakistan is a hurdle in the way of ensuring HR and achieving MDGs. Weak economic condition also poses challenge to the security of Pakistan.
13. **Bad governance and Corruption**
    Almost all of the NTS threats being faced by Pakistan are due to bad governance and corruption. Bad governance and corruption contribute to socio-politico-economic deterioration of Pakistan.

4) Impact of non-traditional security challenges

1. NTST lead to economic losses.
2. These also lead to human losses.
3. These lead to social deterioration.
4. These have led to floods, droughts, storms and cyclones.
5. These have led to issues related to education, health, urbanization, traffic, and crimes.

6. These have led to food and water shortage especially in Sindh.

5) Recommended Solutions to overcome the non-traditional security challenges

1. Social policy is as important as economic policy.
2. Steps should be taken for HRD including better education, health, population welfare, and skill development.
3. International support should be sought.
4. Followings should be achieved:
    a. Technological advances in infrastructure construction,
    b. improved sanitation system,
    c. disaster management system,
    d. flood forecasting warning systems,
    e. local rainwater harvesting,
    f. developing new varieties of resilient crops,
    g. promoting renewable energy sources, and
    h. more efficient public transport.
5. Borders should be made strong to prevent people trafficking and drug smuggling.
6. Good relationships should be created with neighboring countries.
7. Steps should be taken for robust economy.
8. Investment should be made in women and girls to reap multiple benefits.
9. Literacy rate should be improved at any cost.
10. There should be peaceful resolution of disputes including Kashmir issue.
11. Good governance should be achieved as it is very important for managing NTST.

6) Conclusion

NTS challenges being faced by Pakistan are badly affecting its socio-politico-economic fabric. No stone should be left turned for combating these challenges. This is only through overcoming the NTS challenges that we can realize the dream of prosperous and developed Pakistan.

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WOT in Pakistan

1. Introduction

After 9/11, Pakistan became front-line ally of US in WOT and played a key role in facilitating US intervention in Afghanistan, even until now. It permitted transit of

US material (NATO supply) from Pakistani territory to Afghanistan and also provided some based to US to launch attacks against Taliban. This WOT had dual aspects for Pakistan. Pakistan got economic, civil and military aid at the cost of its sovereignty, infrastructure and lives of its people. Also, this WOT has become a great threat to the stability and security of Pakistan.

2. What is WOT

After the incidence of 9/11 in which WTC and Pentagon were attacked by Taliban, WOT was decisively and forcefully launched by US against Taliban. Pakistan was forced by US to become its ally by saying that either you were with us or with the terrorists. Pakistan became front-line ally of US and provided it with passage for logistics and bases for launching attacks against Taliban.

On the other hand, in spite of all the efforts by Pakistan, US blamed Pakistan for supporting anti-US Taliban and that Pakistan is safe heavens for terrorists.

3. WOT is against Taliban: where from came Taliban?

Due to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan became a sandwich between India (East) and Russia in Afghanistan (West). Geo-strategic compulsions and economic interests brought Pakistan, USA, Saudi Arabia, and China on a common platform to support the Afghan Mujahideen. President Zia decided to support jihad as conceived by the United States. Meanwhile the Kashmir issue also promoted Jihadi culture and Mujahideen.

Then, when the Soviet-Afghan war was over, Mujahideen turned into Taliban having anti Western sentiments and calling for jihad against the West. Also, at domestic level, Taliban tried to create an Islamic state.

4. What was the conflict between US and Taliban that led to WOT?

It is widely circulated and accepted that Taliban are being punished for not coming to terms with US oil conglomerates that planned to pipe out Central Asian oil via Afghanistan to the Western destinations. The 9/11 attacks badly hit the pride of the sole super-power of the world. The declaration of “war on terror” was prompt, decisive and forceful. It targeted at the elimination of Al- Qaeda and its main harbors the Taliban regime of Afghanistan.

5) Impact of WOT on Pakistan

1. ### WOT caused Human loss

“Pakistan has given unprecedented sacrifices against WOT.”

Maryam Orangzaib Palimony Secretary for interior

Suicide attacks, bomb blasts and drones caused almost more than 50000 civil and military casualties. Attacks have been all over the Pakistan especially targeted areas were FATA, LHR, KRI, ISL, Quetta and Peshwar.

2. **WOT caused economic loss**

   Pakistan has suffered more than $100 Billion in direct and indirect costs. WOT led to loss of infrastructure, loss of business and market, loss of investment and FDI in the country. It also led to capital flight from the country.

3. **Influx of Afghan Refugees**

   Problem of refugees was started in Soviet war and became severe after WOT in Afghanistan. More than 6 million Afghanis migrated to Pakistan. These refugees present financial and security challenge to the country.

4. **Terrorism and Extremism**

   Extremism and terrorism were on their extreme during the WOT. Foreign and local Talibans and extremists caused damage to infrastructure and economic loss by making suicide attacks and bomb blasts.

5. **Loss of security**

   War on terror resulted in a very severe security loss. Terrorists attacked mosques, imambargahs, churches, schools, universities, and air bases and naval stations. Most recent events were Karachi Bus Shooting 2015 (carrying Ismailies), Lahore Church Bombings 2015 (Yohana Abbad), Peshawar APS attack , Lahore Wahga Border Suicide attack, Quetta Airbase Attack, and Jinnah International Airport Attack in Karachi.

6. **Psychological impacts**

   WOT also resulted in loss of peace of mind and became sick mindedness of the people and contributed to their pessimism. Most of the people became the victims of depression and insomnia.

7. **Bad image of Pakistan**

   Incidences of terrorism and extremism in Pakistan created bad image of Pakistan in the world. The world thinks that Pakistan is the breeding place of Taliban who pose challenge to the nuclear weapons and materials of Pakistan.

8. **Loss of sovereignty**

   US launched drone attacks to kill terrorists in Afghanistan and tribal areas of Pakistan. These drone attacks severely challenged the sovereignty of Pakistan.

9. **Anti-American sentiments**

   Pakistani public considers that WOT was imposed on Pakistan by USA. Also due

to the human and economic loss and drone attacks, anti-American sentiments have been created among most of the Pakistanis.

10. **Military operation in tribal areas and problem of IDPs**

Pakistani army launched operation against Talibans in FATA which not only resulted in destruction of infrastructure but also the problem of IDPs. The rehabilitation of IDPs and revival of normal life in tribal areas is the main challenge being faced by Pakistani government.

6) Probable situation after US withdrawal from Afghanistan

US announced that it will withdraw NATO forces from Afghanistan till 2014. There are two possibilities after the withdrawal.

First: after withdrawal of US, a strong Afghan government may be established. In that case, it is quite probable that India-Afghan ties may go against Pakistan.

Second: there may be resurgence of Taliban in Afghanistan which may lead to insurgency in Pakistan and instability in the whole region.

7) What should Pakistan do?

Pakistani government should take the following steps:

1. It should follow the strategy of 3D's: Dialogue with those who are willing to give up, Development of infrastructure and normal life, and Deterrence with the non-surrendering Talibans.
2. It should make its borders strong.
3. It should make efforts to stop drone attacks.
4. It should ensure political instability in the country.
5. It should make good relations with neighbors.
6. It should resolve its energy crisis.
7. There should be positive role of media and intellectuals. Positive criticism followed by practicable suggestions should be adopted.

8) Conclusion

WOT is presenting economic, security and sovereignty challenges to Pakistan and is badly affecting its socio-politico-economic fabric. No stone should be left turned for combating terrorists and extremists. This is only through taking strong decisions and effective steps that we can realize the dream of prosperous and developed Pakistan.

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SCO and Pakistan

1. Introduction

SCO is an important security organization which is established to compete with the growing US and NATO influence in the region. Its prime motive is to counter the threats of terrorism and extremism in the region. This organization is vibrant and has full potential to combat terrorism and other regional and international threats. Currently, Pakistan has the status of observer state of SCO and is expected to get its full-fledge membership very soon. As Pakistan is full of natural resources and is also facing the problems of terrorism and extremism so SCO platform can be very helpful for Pakistan to counter terrorism and to reap full advantages of its resources.

2. Establishment of SCO

SCO is originated from S5 which was found in April 1996 by Russia with China and Russia and three CARs (Kazikstan, Kirgistan, and Tajikstan) as its members. In June 2001, Uzbikstan also joined and the name of S5 was changed to SCO having six members.

Apart from this six members, four countries (Pakistan, India, Iran and Mangolia) have observer status. Secretariat of SCO was established in Beijing.

3. Objectives of SCO

1. To eradicate terrorism and extremism from the region (the main objective)
2. To eliminate opium from the region
3. To promote mutual trade and cooperation among member countries
4. To develop mutual trust and respect among member states
5. To respect and protect sovereignty of members without any discrimination
6. To have non-military alliance unlike NATO

4. Achievements of SCO

1. It conducts joint security exercises among member states to counter terrorism from region.
2. It promotes confidence building among member countries.
3. It contributes to enhance trade among member countries.
4. It established Regional Anti-Terrorism Center in 2004 to counter terrorism.
5. It promotes joint efforts of members to counter drug smuggling in the region.

5) Challenges to SCO

1. To counter US influence in the region. (US has interest in resources of CARs)
2. To move to bi-polar world from uni-polar world.
3. To prevent clash of interests between Russia and China
4. To give membership to observer states as Iran is following nuclear program. Pakistan is facing terrorism. And India has conflicts with China.

6) Pakistan and SCO

Currently, Pakistan is enjoying observer status of SCO and is desirous of getting its full membership which it may get by 2015. Getting its membership will open a new door of opportunities for Pakistan and the region. Also, various officials of the member states have given their positive views regarding membership of Pakistan.

7) Areas of interest between Pak and SCO

Following areas show convergence of interests between Pak and SCO. Both want the followings:

1. Regional stability
2. Elimination of terrorism, extremism and drugs from the region
3. Economic prosperity
4. Peaceful coexistence
5. Non-interference in the matters of other member states

6. No use of force
7. No uni-lateralism (USA the only super power)
8. No regime change

8) What Pakistan can get from SCO

Pakistan can reap the following benefits by using the platform of SCO:

1. Materialization of energy products
2. Best utilization of its strategic location (ports and transit)
3. Promotion of trade and economic cooperation
4. Economic stability
5. Balance in foreign policy (no uni-centered policy)
6. Counter terrorism and drug smuggling

9) What Pakistan should do

1. It should pursue diplomacy vigorously to get membership.
2. It should build good relations with Russia and neighboring countries including Afghanistan, China, Iran, India).
3. It should achieve political stability.
4. It should have good governance.

10) Conclusion

SCO has the potential of becoming prosperous and developed grouping of Asian nations and to contain hegemony, terrorism, extremism from the region. It can also be helpful in reaping full advantages of natural resources. Pakistan, by becoming the member of SCO, can reap full advantage of its strategic location and natural resources. For this, Pakistan needs some pragmatic and result oriented measures.

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ECO and Pakistan

1. Introduction

ECO is a political and economic organization which provides a platform to discuss ways and means for regional development and to promote trade and

investment opportunities. In spite of thirty years of its creation, ECO is still staggering to be a vibrant organization like ASEAN. Although members of ECO are rich in natural resources, yet they are unable to get full advantage of ECO to exploit their resources and to make progress. There are certain hurdles in the way of ECO to become a potential regional organization which need urgent solution.

2. History of ECO

ECO is a successor organization of RCD (Regional Cooperation for Development) that was found in 1964 by Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. Activities of RCD were ended in 1979. In 1985, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey joined to form ECO. In 1992, ECO was expanded by including six CARs and Afghanistan.

3. Organization structure of ECO

Council of Ministers

It is the highest policy and decision making organization consisting of foreign ministers of member countries. COM meets at least once a year.

Council of permanent representatives

It consists of permanent representatives of the member states.

Regional planning council

It consists of heads of planning organization of the member states.

General staff of ECO secretariat

It consists of the following staff:

1. One secretary general
2. Three deputy secretary general
3. Six directors
4. Three assistant directors
5. Other technical and administrative staff

4. Objectives of ECO

Followings are the objectives of ECO:

1. Sustainable economic development of member states
2. Removal of trade barriers and promotion of intra-regional trade
3. Development of transport and communication infrastructure among member states
4. Mobilization and utilization of ECO's regional resources including

agricultural and industrial potential.
5. Regional cooperation for drug-abuse control
6. Environmental protection and strengthening of historical and cultural ties among people of member states
7. Mutually beneficial cooperation with other regional and global organizations

5) Principles of ECO

1. Equality of member states and mutual benefits
2. Joint efforts to gain access to market outside ECO region
3. Effective utilization of ECO's institutions, agreements and cooperative arrangements with other regional and international organizations
4. Common efforts to develop harmonized approach for participation in regional and global arrangements
5. Realization of ECO's cooperation strategies and exchange of knowledge and culture

6) Achievements of ECO

1. ECO Chamber of Commerce and Industry was established in 1993 with objective to contribute to and enhance the economic cooperation and relations in trade, industry, agriculture, tourism, and banking sector. It also realized joint investments among member states.
2. In March 1995, ECO Reinsurance Company was established with a purpose to supplement the existing reinsurance services in the region, to promote growth of the national retention capacities, to minimize outflow of foreign exchange from the region and to support economic development in the region.
3. ECO Consultancy and Engineering Co. was established to assist the developmental projects sponsored by the ECO member states.
4. ECO Trade and Development Bank was established in 2005 by the founding member states (Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey) with the objective to provide financial resources for developmental projects. Its operations were started in 2008.
5. ECO Cultural Institution was established to preserve the cultural heritage of member states through common projects in the field of media, literature, arts, education and sports.
6. Other organizations of ECO are:

a. ECO supreme audit institution
b. ECO science foundation
c. ECO drug control unit
d. ECO educational institution
e. ECO trade promotion unit
f. ECO post
g. ECO shipping

7) Potential of ECO

ECO has the following potentials:

1. Its member countries cover vast area with high populace: more than seven million square kilometer.
2. Its member countries are rich in natural resources.
3. Its member countries are all Muslim states.
4. Its member countries have the political will to make it a vibrant organization.
5. Its member countries have good relations with each other.

8) Hurdles in the way of ECO

Followings are the hurdles in the way of ECO to become a vibrant organization:

1. Its member states lack appropriate infrastructure and institutions
2. Deteriorated relations between Pakistan and Iran due to Shiya-Sunni conflicts
3. Deteriorated relations between Pakistan and Afghan due to Taliban and US WOT
4. Expansion of militant outfit activities in the region
5. Topology of the region
6. US involvement in the region (US war in Afghanistan and sanctions on Iran)
7. Lack of financial and technical resources
8. Lack of commitment of member states

9) What can Pakistan get from ECO

1. Pakistan can meet its energy needs from energy resources of CARs
2. Pakistan can seek the help of ECO member states to counter terrorism, extremism and drug trafficking in the region
3. Pakistan can get the advantage of its Gawadar Port by providing transit to landlocked countries.

4. Pakistan can minimize its dependence on others by having strong ties with the member states.
5. Pakistan can improve its economy by getting help from Banking system of ECO and by creating road and railway links among member countries.

10) What should be done

Following measures need to be taken to reap full advantage of ECO:

1. There should be peace on both sides of Durond Line.
2. There should be collective efforts to counter terrorism and drug trafficking and to improve regional security.
3. There should be road and railway connections among the member states.
4. Trade among members of ECO should be encouraged.
5. Technology sharing should be encouraged among member states.
6. There should be joint efforts to minimize poverty and improve literacy.
7. ECO Bank should play vibrant role by providing finance for developmental projects.

11) Conclusion

ECO is a big regional organization and has the potential to become fully vibrant. All its members are Muslim states who are rich in energy resources. Effective steps must be taken, on urgent basis, to make ECO fully vibrant so as to reap full advantages of energy resources.

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SAARC and Pakistan

1. Introduction

SAARC is an economic and geo-political union of eight South Asian countries which was founded in December 1985. The combined economy of SAARC is the 3rd largest in the world in the terms of GDP(PPP) after the United States and China. SAARC nations comprise 3% of the world's area and contain 21% (around

1.7 billion) of the world's total population and around 9.12% of Global economy as of 2015. Although SAARC has full potential of growing as a vibrant regional organization because of the geo-political location of South Asia and its huge human capital, yet it could not grow like ASEAN or EU because of certain domestic as well as regional issues. SAARC is called “Tooth-less Tiger”. It is the need of time to make SAARC a vibrant organization to get full advantage of geo-strategic location of South Asia.

2. Establishment of SAARC

First concrete proposal for the establishment of a regional organization in South Asia was made by the then President of Bangladesh, Zia Ur Rehman in May 1980. But, officially SAARC was established in Dec 1985 in Dhaka. Initially, it had seven members: Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhotan, and Maldep. In 2005, Afghanistan started negotiating her accession to SAARC and submitted request for membership of SAARC. Afghanistan was given membership in 2007. Now, SAARC has eight members and nine observer states: USA, China, EU, Japan, Australia, Iran, South Korea, Myanmar, and Mauritius. Its headquarter was established in Khatmandu (Nepal) in Jan 1987.

3. Organization structure of SAARC

SAARC secretariat is headed by Secretary General who is appointed by Council of Ministers of the member countries for three years. He is assisted by professional and general services staff. Moreover, a number of functional units are assigned to directors, on deputation basis, of the member states.

Secretariat coordinates and monitors implementation of activities, prepares for meetings, and communicates among the member states.

1. SAARC Council of Ministers (COM)

COM consists of foreign ministers of the member states. COM meets twice a year. However, extra-ordinary session of the council may be held by agreement among member states. COM formulates policies of cooperation, reviews the progress of cooperation, and also takes decision on new areas of cooperation.

2. SAARC Regional Centers (RC)

Different SAARC RCs are also established to promote regional cooperation. These include the followings:

S.N.	Regional Centre	Location	Country
1	SAARC Agricultural Centre (SAC)	Dhaka	Bangladesh
2	SAARC Meteorological Research Centre (SMRC)	Dhaka	Bangladesh

3	SAARC Forestry Centre (SFC)	Thimphu	Bhutan
4	SAARC Development Fund (SDF)	Thimphu	Bhutan
5	SAARC Documentation Centre (SDC)	New Delhi	India
6	SAARC Disaster Management Centre (SDMC)	New Delhi	India
7	SAARC Coastal Zone Management Centre (SCZMC)	Malé	Maldives
8	SAARC Information Centre (SIC)	Kathmandu	Nepal
9	SAARC Tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS Centre (STAC)	Kathmandu	Nepal
10	SAARC Human Resources Development Centre (SHRDC)	Islamabad	Pakistan
11	SAARC Energy Centre (SEC)	Islamabad	Pakistan
12	SAARC Cultural Centre (SCC)	Colombo	Sri Lanka

3. SAARC Apex Bodies (AB)

SAARC has six Apex Bodies namely:

1. SAARC Chamber of Commerce & Industry (SCCI),
2. SAARCLAW (South Asian Association For Regional Cooperation In Law)
3. South Asian Federation of Accountants (SAFA),
4. South Asia Foundation (SAF),
5. South Asia Initiative to End Violence Against Children (SAIEVAC),
6. Foundation of SAARC Writers and Literature (FOSWAL)

4. Objectives of SAARC

1. To promote welfare and equality of life of people of South Asia.
2. To accelerate economic growth and social and cultural development of South Asia.
3. To strengthen self-reliance among countries of South Asia
4. To help understand one another's problems
5. To maintain peace in the region
6. To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries and regional organizations

5) Principles of SAARC

1. Respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, political equality and independence of member states.

2. Non-interference in internal affairs of member countries
3. Unanimous decision making
4. Focus on multi-lateral issues, all bilateral issues to be kept aside

6) Achievements of SAARC

SAARC has made the following achievements over the years.

1. SAARC Awards

1. **SAARC Award**

   The SAARC Award is given to honor and encourage outstanding individuals and organizations within the region.

2. **SAARC Youth Awards**

   The SAARC Youth Awards are given to recognize the extraordinary young talents and encourage the overall development of the youth in the region. The Award consists of a citation in English; a Gold Medal; and a cash prize of US$ 3000.

2. Areas of cooperation

Members of SAARC cooperate in the following areas: agricultural and rural, biotechnology, culture, economic and trade, education, energy, environment, finance, information, communication, media, people-to-people contact, poverty alleviation, science and technology, security aspects, social development, and tourism.

3. Agreements of SAARC

SAARC members have made the following agreements to promote cooperation:

1. SAARC Framework Agreement for Energy Cooperation (Electricity)
2. Agreement for establishment of SAARC Arbitration Council
3. Final Agreement on Avoidance of Double Taxation
4. Final Agreement on Customs Matters
5. Agreement on establishing the SAARC food bank
6. Agreement on south Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA)
7. Agreement on the Establishment of South Asian Regional Standards Organisation (SARSO)
8. Agreement on SAARC Visa Exemption Scheme
9. Agreement on elimination of terrorism from the region

4. Conventions of SAARC

1. SAARC Convention on Combating and Prevention of Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution

2. Convention on Promotion of Welfare of Children
3. Convention on Mutual Assistance on Criminal Matters
4. SAARC Convention on Narcotics Drugs
5. SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism

7) Potential of SAARC

Since SAARC is rich in natural resources and human capital and has a huge market and a geo-strategic location, it has full potential of become a fully vibrant organization.

8) Potential benefits of SAARC to Pakistan

Pakistan can reap the following benefits by using the platform of SAARC in the following areas namely agricultural and rural, biotechnology, culture, economic and trade, education, energy, environment, finance, information, communication, media, people-to-people contact, poverty alleviation, science and technology, security aspects, social development, and tourism

9) What should Pakistan do to reap full advantages of SAARC

1. Pakistan needs true visionary leadership to chalk out a clear vision and direction to be given to its diplomats.
2. Pakistani diplomats should work hard to get maximum benefits out of SAARC.
3. Pakistan needs to get rid of terrorism and extremism.
4. Pakistan needs to have social, political and economic stability.
5. Pakistan needs to have good, value-added relations with the other member countries of SAARC.

10) Hurdles in the way of SAARC

Followings are the hurdles in the way of SAARC in becoming fully potential organization:

1. India considers itself superior and shows hegemony.
2. Pak-India relations have been tensed since 1947 due to various issues like Kashmir issue, water issue, Kargal and Siachin issue.
3. Various SAARC member countries have border disputes between them like Pak-India, India-Bangladesh, Pak-Afghanistan, and India-China.
4. Various SAARC countries are facing internal problems like terrorism and extremism, poverty, illiteracy, and political instablity.
5. There is trust deficit among member countries.
6. Member countries also lack commitment.

7. There is also lack of social cohesion among member countries due to hard visa policies, and lack of people-to-people contact.

11) How to make SAARC fully vibrant?

SAARC can be made a vibrant regional organization by taking the following measures:

1. Kashmir issue should be solved.
2. India should treat others on equality basis.
3. Pak-India relations should be normalized.
4. Border disputes among the member countries should be resolved.
5. Member countries should solve their internal matters.
6. SAFTA and SAARC Visa Exemption Scheme should be implemented in true sense.

12) Conclusion

SAARC has the potential of becoming prosperous and developed grouping of South Asian nations. Members of SAARC can cooperate and make progress in various areas like agricultural and rural, biotechnology, culture, economic and trade, education, energy, environment, finance, information, communication, media, people-to-people contact, poverty alleviation, science and technology, security aspects, social development, and tourism. Pakistan can also reap full advantage of its strategic location and natural resources. For this, Pakistan needs some pragmatic and result oriented measures. Moreover, effective steps should also be taken to make SAARC a vibrant organization.

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Evolution of Democracy in Pakistan

1. Introduction

Democracy is the most essential and fundamental system for managing affairs of a society. It has certain important principles like citizen participation, equality,

political tolerance, accountability, transparency, periodic, free and fair elections, multi-party system and the rule of law. True democratic states always follow these principles. True democracy leads to sustained social, economic and political stability and growth of a country. In Pakistan, various steps have been taken to make it a true democratic country. Unfortunately, true democracy could not flourish in true spirit in Pakistan and this remains a hurdle in the way of development of Pakistan.

2. History of up and downs in democracy in Pakistan

Democracy in Pakistan faced many ups and downs from 1947 to date. From 1947 to 1958, civilian government was in rule. In this period, the Objectives Resolution was passed on 12 March 1949 which proclaimed that the future constitution of Pakistan would be modeled on the ideology and democratic faith of Islam. In Constitution of 1956, it was declared that Pakistan will be an Islamic republic with the adoption of parliamentary democratic system of government.

From 1958 to 1968, military was in rule. Ayub Khan was the president. From 1969 to 1972, military was in rule and the president was Yahya Khan. Economic grievances and political disenfranchisement in East Pakistan led to violent political tensions and armed repression, which ultimately led to the birth of Bangladesh.

Democracy again returned from 1972 to 1977 led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. From 1977 to 1988, military was again in rule led by Zia Ul Haq. From 1988 to 1999, civilians were in rule led by BB (1988 to 1990), Nawaz Sharif (1990-1992), BB (1993-1996) and again Nawaz Sharif (1997-1999). From 1999 to 2007, military was in rule led by Pervaiz Musharaf. From 2008-2012, civilians were again in rule led by A.A. Zardari. This was the first time in history of Pakistan that an elected civilian government successfully completed it term of five years. From 2013 to date, civilians are in rule led by Nawaz Sharif and democracy is flourishing. Political parties and military are showing maturity now.

3. Principles of democracy

Although democracy has now started flourishing in Pakistan, yet too much still need to be done to become a true democratic country. Following are the principles of true democracy.

1. Citizen Participation

Citizen participation may take many forms including standing for election, voting in elections, becoming informed, debating issues, and even protesting.

2. Equality

Equality means that all individuals are valued equally, have equal opportunities, and may not be discriminated based on their race, religion, ethnic group, gender or sexual orientation.

3. Political tolerance

The rights of minorities (opposition) must be protected. A democratic society is rich in diversity. If the majority deny rights to and destroy their opposition, then they also destroy democracy. Decisions are more likely to be accepted, even by those who oppose them, if all citizens have been allowed to discuss, debate, and question them.

4. Accountability

In a democracy, elected and appointed officials have to be accountable to the people. They are responsible for their actions. Officials must make decisions and perform their duties according to the will and wishes of the people, not for themselves.

5. Transparency

For government to be accountable, the people must be aware of what is happening in the country. This is referred to as transparency in government. A transparent government holds public meetings and allows citizens to attend. In a democracy, the press and the people are able to get information about what decisions are being made, by whom and why.

6. Periodic, free and fair elections

One way citizens of the country express their will is by electing officials to represent them in government. Democracy insists that these elected officials are chosen and peacefully removed from office in a free and fair manner.

7. Multi-Party System

In order to have a multi-party system, more than one political party must participate in elections and play a role in government. A multi-party system allows for opposition to the party, which wins the election. This helps provide the government with different viewpoints on issues. Additionally, a multiparty system provides voters with a choice of candidates, parties and policies to vote for. Historically, when a country only has one party, the result has been a dictatorship.

8. The Rule of Law

In a democracy no one is above the law, not even a king or an elected President. This is called the rule of law. It means that everyone must obey the law and be held accountable if they violate it. Democracy also insists that the law be equally,

fairly and consistently enforced. Judiciary should keep a check on the actions of the government.

"Democracy is the government of the people, by the people, for the people."

Abraham Lincoln

4. Steps taken to make Pakistan a democratic state

Various steps have been taken to make Pakistan a democratic state. In fact, these steps have roots back into the colonial era. For example, demand for separate electorate in Shimla Deputation 1905, acceptance of demand for separate electorate in Minto-Marley Reforms 1909 by British and in Lacknow Pact 1916 by Congress were the steps towards democracy.

After 1947, following steps have been taken to make Pakistan a true democratic country:

1. Jinnah always stressed on making Pakistan a true democratic country. He once said, "There are no people in the world who are more democratic even in their religion than the Muslims".
2. The Objectives Resolution was passed on 12 March 1949 which proclaimed that the future constitution of Pakistan would be modeled on the ideology and democratic faith of Islam.
3. After inception, Pakistan joined democratic USA group instead of communist USSR. It was also a step towards democracy in Pakistan.
4. In Constitutions of 1956, 1962, and 1973, it was declared that Pakistan will be an Islamic republic with the adoption of parliamentary democratic system of government.
5. PML (N) and PPP signed Charter of Democracy to place a check on martial law.
6. All Parties Conference (APC) and All Parties Alliances (APA) also contribute to promotion of democracy.
7. Fulfillment of Five-Year Term by PPP-Led government also led to promotion of democracy.
8. Passing of 18th amendment for removing the power of the President of Pakistan to dissolve the Parliament unilaterally is also a step for democracy in Pakistan.
9. Independent Judiciary is established for ensuring rule of law.
10. Independent NAB is established for ensuring accountability and

transparency.

11. Independent ECP is established for conducting free and fair elections.
12. Independent Media ensures education and awareness among people.
13. Positive role of Army regarding non-interference in political matters is also a good sign for the promotion of democracy.
14. Up to date lists of voters and verification of votes by NADRA is also a good sign for the promotion of democracy.
15. Healthy opposition by PTI ensures a check on the performance of government which leads to promotion of democracy.
16. Decision about use of technology for conducting expected elections in 2018 will contribute to fairness of elections.

5. Why did not democracy flourish in Pakistan

1. The areas Pakistan inherited at inception (Punjab, KPK, Sindh, Balochistan, Bengal, and FATA) were either under tribal controls or were grounds for recruitment of military and civil bureaucracy. In either case, political development in these areas was difficult.
2. Pakistan inherited feudalism at inception has also been a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan. Feudalists were against the status-quo. Although Ayub Khan and ZA Bhutto tried to implement land reforms, yet nothing concrete could be achieved.
3. At inception, Political parties had to depend on civil bureaucracy for administration of the country and on military bureaucracy for combating Indian aggression. This made political parties dependent on civil and military bureaucracy which has been a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan.
4. Constitutional crisis has also been a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan. For example, constitution of 1956 was abrogated in 1958, of 1962 in 1969, and of 1973 in 1977.
5. Lack of committed, visionary, and true democratic leadership has also been a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan.
6. Too much centralized (over-developed) state structure is also a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan.
7. Clash, tussle and lack of coordination between the institutions (executive, judiciary and parliament) is also a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan.

8. Illiteracy (lack of education and awareness) and poverty (being unable to realize the value of vote) has also been a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan.
9. Lack of accountability and transparency led to corruption and election rigging and has been a hurdle in the way of democracy is Pakistan.
10. Non-democratic political parties have also been a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan.
11. Personal and vested interests of the politicians have also been a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan.
12. Economic backwardness, political instability, social deterioration, and martial laws have also been a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan.

6. Way forward

1. Steps should be taken to get rid of feudalism as soon as possible.
2. Civil and military bureaucracy should work within their boundaries and should not cross their limits.
3. Constitutional should be made strong by following it in true spirit.
4. Pakistan needs a committed, visionary, and true democratic leadership.
5. Too much centralization is troublesome. Policy of decentralization should be followed by conducting local bodies elections.
6. Coordination between the institutions (executive, judiciary and parliament) should be encouraged.
7. Effective steps should be taken to get rid of Illiteracy and poverty.
8. Accountability and transparency should be ensured to get rid of corruption and election rigging.
9. Political parties should conduct intra-party elections to become democratic.
10. Effective steps should be taken to overcome the problems of economic backwardness, political instability, social deterioration, and martial laws.

7. Conclusion

Although various steps have been taken to make Pakistan a true democratic country, yet democracy did not flourish in Pakistan due to various reasons. Still, there is a need to take and implement appropriate decisions to make Pakistan a true democratic state. It is only through true democracy that we can achieve the objective of prosperous, strong and developed Pakistan.

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Pakistan India Relations

1. Introduction

Pakistan India relations have always been characterized by rivalry and suspicions ever since inception of both the countries. Although various steps have been taken to normalize the relations, yet all such efforts remained unfruitful because of certain core and unresolved issues like Kashmir dispute. Such deteriorated relations always remained a threat for both the countries and caused huge loss across the border. World is moving towards regionalism, therefore, it is the need of time that both the countries should resolved their issues and have good relations with each other.

2. History of Pak-India Relations

Pak-India relations remained strained since 1947. Both the countries had fought three wars (1948, 1965, and 1971), two mini-wars (1965 Rann of Kutch and 1999 Kargil) and two near-wars (2001 and 2002). Strained relations also resulted in Dhaka Debacle when half of the Pakistan was separated.

History can be discussed as:

- At inception, mass migration of about 10 million humans and start of communal riots tensed the relations between India and Pak.
- In 1947, Hari Singh, Maharaja of Kashmir handed over Kashmir to India in spite of it being a Muslim majority area. This resulted in war in 1948 between two

countries. India took the matter to UN. Ultimately, cease-fire was declared and it was decided to conduct a plebiscite in Kashmir.

- In 1950, Liaquat-Nehru Pact was signed for the protection of minorities in Pakistan and India.
- In 1954 and 1955, relations became tensed between Pak and India when Pak joined SEATO in 1954 and CENTO in 1955.
- In 1960, Indus Waters Treaty 1960 was signed by Pak (Ayub Khan) and India (Nehru). As per this treaty, Pakistan shall have right on the waters if western rivers (The Indus, The Jehlum, and The Chenab) and India shall have right on the waters of eastern rivers (The Sutlej, The Beas, and The Ravi).
- In 1962-63, in the backdrop of Sino-Indian War 1962, six inconclusive rounds of talks were held on Kashmir issue between foreign ministers ZA Bhutto and Sardar Swaran Singh.
- In 1965, Pak-India fought their second war for seventeen days (17).
- In 1966, Tashkent Pact was signed by Ayub Khan and Lal Bahaudur Shastri to create good neighboring relations and to solve the disputes through peaceful means, to bring the armed personnel to the positions they held prior to 5 August, 1965. They also made other promises like non-interference in internal affairs, discouragement of propaganda against other country, restoration of talks for normalizing relations, and promotion of trade, communications and cultural exchanges.
- In 1971, Pak-India fought their third war for fourteen days (14).
- In 1972, Simla Accord was signed by ZA Bhutto and Indira Gandhi to establish peace, to settle their differences by peaceful means, to create harmonious relations (peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-interference in internal matters) and to promote communications and trade for normalizing relations.
- In 1974, relations became tensed when India made her first successful Nuclear Tests names Smiling Budha.
- In 1976, Smjhota Express train service was started between Lahore and Amritsar.
- In 1984, Indian army secretly occupied Siachien Glacier creating new issue in Pak -India relations.
- In 1985, Zia Ul Haq and Rajiv Ghandi signed agreement not to attack each other's nuclear installations.
- In 1998, relations became strained when India and Pakistan both went nuclear.
- In 1999, at the inauguration of Bus service between New Delhi and Lahore, Lahore Declaration was signed by Atal Behari Vajpai and Nawaz Sharif to bring

peace and stability between the countries and to bring progress and prosperity for their people. It was decided to discuss a total of eight (8) issues, including Kashmir, in "Composite Dialogue". Also promises were made to create harmonious relations, to avoid conflicts, to implement Simla Accord, and to undertake CBMs.

- In 1999, Kargil Conflict strained the relations between India and Pakistan. Ultimately, Mujahdeen were withdrawn from the Kargil Heights.
- In 2001, terror attack on Indian parliament and in 2002 terror attack on Indian military camp also deteriorated the relations between two countries.
- In 2007, Smjhota Express train was bombed near Panipat in which 68 people were killed. Majority were Pakistanis.
- In 2008, Mumbai attacks also deteriorated the relations because India blamed that these attacks were funded by ISI (Pak).
- Currently, relations are deteriorated because of LOC tension, harsh statements by Indian ministers, India's involvement in Balochistan, FATA, and Karachi, and strong India-Afghan and India-US ties. It is being indicated that RAW has connections with MQM.

3. Major irritants between Pak-India relations

Following have been the major irritants between Pak-India relations:

1. Kashmir issue

In 1947, Hari Singht, Mahraja of Kashmir, signed instrument of accession and handed over the Muslim majority area to India and India occupied Kashmir. Pak and India have fought war of 1948, 1965, 1971 on Kashmir issue. Kashmir issue is the major irritant in the relation between Pak and India.

2. Siachen Glacier

Siachen is 71 Km long and the world's highest battleground. India claims Siachen glacier too along with Kashmir. In 1984, India sent its troops to occupy Siachen glacier. Since then, Siachen glacier is also an irritant between Pak and India.

3. Sir Creek

The Sir Creek is a 96 Km strip of water disputed between Indian state of Gujarat and Sindh province of Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch marshlands. Pakistan lays claim to the entire creek as per paras 9 and 10 of the Bombay Government Resolution of 1914 signed between the then Government of Sindh and Rao Maharaj of Kutch.

4. Cross border terrorism

Pak and India both blame each other for cross-border terrorism. India blames

Pakistan for attacks on Indian Parliament 2001, military camp in Jammu 2002, Mumbai attacks in 2008. While Pakistan blames India for training and funding s terrorism in FATA, Balochistan and Karachi.

5. Water issue

The Indus Waters Treaty 1960 was signed between Pakistan and India. Waters of Eastern Rivers (Satluj, Beas, Ravi) were allocated to India and Western Rivers (Indus, Jhelum, Chenab) were allocated to Pakistan. Pakistan claims that India is stealing its river waters of Chenab upstream in Indian-administered Kashmir. Water issue is also a serious irritant in Pak-India relations.

6. Trust deficit

Trust deficit due to enemy image, false hopes and broken promises is also an irritant between Pak-India relations. Harsh statements of ministers also lead to trust deficit.

7. Arms race

Both the countries are also racing for arms like long-range missiles, nuclear warheads, and submarines to name a few. Arms race is also an irritant in maintain good relations between Pak and India.

8. Foreign factors

India has established its consulates on Pak-Afghan border and is investing heavily in Afghanistan and is trying to create second front for Pakistan. US is supporting India for permanent seat on the UN and joining of NSGs. US also concluded civil nuclear deal with India. Australia decided to sell uranium to India. Russia also provides arms to India. All these are sources of concern for Pakistan.

9. Stalled talks

Stalled talks also contribute to lack of good relations. India states cross-border terrorism as core issue while Pakistan states Kashmir as core issue which led to stalled talks between Pak and India.

10. Inadvertent crossers

Inadvertent crossers are often considered as spy and blame game starts which is also an irritant in Pak-India relations.

4. How to improve the relations

1. Kashmir, Siachin, and water issues should be resolved through peaceful means. India and Pakistan both are independent nuclear states. Both should respect each other's sentiments. International community can also play the role of mediator in this regard.

2. Stalled talks should be resumed.
3. Back-channel diplomacy may be revived.
4. People-to-people contact (scholars, sportsmen, poets, media persons) should be encouraged.
5. CBMs (no blame game, keeping promises) be taken to overcome trust deficit.
6. Trade and economic relations should be encouraged.
7. Energy cooperation (TAPI) should be encouraged.
8. Both should say 'No' to hostile propaganda against each other.
9. Both should say 'No' to follow arms race.
10. Both countries should work together to counter cross-border terrorism. Intelligent sharing in this regard should be encouraged.
11. Both the countries should respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and peaceful co-existence.
12. Both the countries should not interfere into internal affairs of each other.
13. Both should focus on the soc-eco-pol development of their people.

5. Conclusion

Although relations between Pak and India have been tensed, yet now it is the need of time that Pakistan and India must develop good relations with each other in order to meet internal challenges and NTSTs being faced by both the countries. Both are nuclear states so they should not enter into war. Also they should not follow arms race and hostile propaganda. Only good relation between two countries can ensure peace, stability and growth of the region. Effective step should be taken to overcome the irritants in the relation between two countries so as to put them and the region on the way of development.

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Pakistan-China Relations

1. Introduction

Pak-China friendship is best ever since inception of Pakistan. This friendship is called time-tested and all-weathered. Both countries have strong diplomatic, defense, economic and cultural relationship. Pakistan has always supported

China in all issues including right to Taiwan and One-China Policy. Similarly, China has always supported Pakistan in Kashmir issue. China has also provided diplomatic, defense and economic support to Pakistan. China has the potential the next super power and it has a lot of interest in Pakistan to fulfill its political and economic motives. Pakistan also needs good relations with China. Relationship between China and Pakistan has been described by the Pakistan ambassador to China as 'higher than Himaliya, deeper than the Indian Ocean, stronger than steal, dearer than eyesight, and sweeter than honey'.

2. History of Pak-China Relations

Pakistan and China have strong relations ever since inception of Pakistan. In 1950, Pakistan became the third non-communist country and the first Muslim country who recognized Peoples Republic of China (PRC). Diplomatic relations between the two countries started in 1951. In 1963, Pakistan solved border disputes with China by ceding Trans-Karakarm Track to China. In 1971, Pakistan played an important role in bringing the US and China close to each other by secretly arranging the US President Nixon visit to China.

In 1978, Pakistan and China were linked by Karakarm Highway. In 1986, Pakistan and China reached a comprehensive nuclear cooperation agreement in which China promised to build four nuclear reactors in Pakistan by 2011. In short, Pakistan and China are time-tested friends ever since inception. Relation between Pakistan and China can be discussed as follows:

1. Diplomatic
2. Defense
3. Economic
4. Cultural

3. Diplomatic

1. Broadly speaking, three subject matters in Pakistan enjoy unanimous nationwide support namely, Kashmir, A-bomb and China. China also enjoys 90% favorability rating in Pakistan. PTV daily broadcasts a song about Pak-China friendship.
2. Strong diplomatic ties exist because Pakistan considers China all-weathered friend, China transfers technology to Pakistan, Pak-China want to counter US-India interests in the region, and to launch joint counter terrorism efforts.
3. Pakistan recognized PRC in 1950 and diplomatic ties were forged in 1951. In 1963, relationship became strong after Sino-India war of 1962 when

Pakistan ceded Trans-Karakarm track to China. Since then, both countries have good diplomatic, defense, economic and cultural relations.

4. When Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO, Pak assured China that it was only to protect itself and not to contain China. Pakistan got out of SEATO and CENTO when it joined Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) in 1979 in Havana Summit.
5. There are five tenets on which Pak-China diplomatic ties rely:
    a. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
    b. Mutual non-aggression
    c. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs
    d. Equality and mutual benefit
    e. Peaceful co-existence
6. In 1971, Pakistan also played a vital role in ending tensions between US and China by arranging a visit of US President Nixon to China.
7. Since then, both countries have frequent visits of leaders between both countries. And leaders of one country are warmly welcomed by the other country.
8. Pakistan has supported China in all its issues relating to right to Taiwan and One China policy. China also supports Pakistan in all its issues like Kashmir issue, Mumbai attacks, and UBL Abbotabad episode.
9. There is tacit understanding between Pak and China that there are 'hidden foreign hands' behind terrorism and instability in Pak and Afghanistan to sabotage the security of the region and derail the Sino-Pak relations.
10. 2011 was designated the 'Year of China-Pakistan Friendship'.
11. Thus Pak and China are 'friends in need' and both back and help each other.

4. Defense relations

Pakistan is our Israel.

1. China provides material support to Pakistan's Army, Navy and Air Force. In 2013, Pakistan emerged as the largest recipient of Chinese arms export. In 2008-2012, 55% of China's arms exports were to Pakistan.
2. Pakistan is also thought to benefit from China's plutonium-based nuclear program. China is believed to facilitate Islamabad's nuclear weapons capability.
3. China has built two nuclear power plants in Pakistan in 1990s and signed a

deal to build two more. Pak and China are interested in counterbalancing the nuclear deals between India and the United States. Karachi and Chashma Nuclear Power Plants and Karachi Coastal Power Project are the major outcomes of this cooperation.

4. Joint Fighter 17 (JF-17) is a low-cost, single engine, multirole aircraft developed by Pakistan and China in late 1990s. Both countries have also jointly developed K8 karakarm advanced training aircraft and Al-Khalid tank.
5. In April 2015, China concluded sale of 8 conventional submarines worth 5 billion USD to Pakistan.
6. It is also believed that Chinese military engineers have examined the wreckage of US stealth helicopter procured by Pakistan intelligence services in Abbotabad incident.
7. China has also helped Pakistan in fighting WOT and has urged US to acknowledge the Pakistan's role in GWOT and avoid excessive criticism.

5. Economic relations

1. Pak and China have bilateral economic cooperation in the form of Joint Economic Commission, Economic Cooperation Group, Joint Energy Working Group, and a Joint Investment Company.
2. In 2006, Pak and China also signed Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and 5-year Development Program on Economic and Trade Cooperation.
3. By 2013, China was the 2nd largest trading partner of Pakistan.
4. Currently China has undertaken different developmental projects in Pakistan in the fields of education, health care, energy, water, environment, and ICTs.
5. Pakistan is the only country in South Asia with a FTA and currency swap agreement (direct trade without the use of USD as intermediary trade currency) with China.
6. China has helped Pakistan in various projects like:
    a. Building / running of Basha and Bunji dams
    b. Karakarm Highway
    c. Pakistan aeronautical complex
    d. Gawadar deep sea port

    e. Indus highway
    f. Saindak Copper and Gold Mine Project
    g. Duda lead-zinc mine project
    h. Thal coal mining project
7. Various investments of China in Pakistan include:
    a. Building of CPEC
    b. Investment in heavy industry, infrastructure and energy
    c. China Mobile
    d. Industrial and Commercial Bank of China
8. China is investing in Gawardar Port and CPEC. Pakistan will become the hub of trade, transportation and economic corridor because it is situated in the center of China, South Asia, Central Asia and West Asia. Similarly, Gawadar port shares border with Iran, lies at the apex of Arabian Peninsula and is close (180 nautical miles) to the Strait of Hormuz. 35% of world's oil passes through the Strait of Hormuz. Pakistan can also provide transit to Afghanistan and CARs.
9. Future cooperation is geared towards space science and technology, maritime security and climate change.

6. Cultural relation

1. There has cultural relation between Pak and China. Currently, People-to-people exchange including students, scholars, workers and media is among the priority list in future Sino-Pak relations.
2. Pakistani students are learning Chinese.
3. Confucius Centre has been established in NUML and Islamic University.
4. Exchange is science and technology is being encouraged under Cooperative Educational Program.
5. Pak-China Friendship Centre is also established in Islamabad.

7. How Pakistan sees China

1. Pakistan sees China as a powerful neighbor and defense and economic partner.
2. China is powerful ally to have. China holds veto right in the UN and is a member of NSGs.
3. Development of Gawadar port by China will create an opportunity for Pakistan to intensify its commercial relations with the energy-rich CARs.
4. Pakistan also needs China to mitigate Indian influence in the region.
5. China also transfers technology to Pakistan to enable it to become self-

reliant.

6. Currently, both the Pakistan and the China have their focus on economy which has strengthened the ties between the two countries.

8. How China sees Pakistan

1. Containment of India through Pakistan is important for China.
2. The geopolitics of Pakistan is important to China. China imports 50% oil from Middle East and 20% from Africa which passes through the Strait of Malacca where it is facing security concerns because of the presence of Indian and American military bases. Gawadar offers secure and short access to sea routes to the Indian Ocean from Xinjiang.
3. China is also interest in using Islamabad's good relations with the Muslim countries specifically Middle Eastern nations.
4. Pakistan is also a market for Chinese goods and services.

9. Major concerns of Pakistan and China

1. China continues to advice Pakistan to develop its economy and to foster good relations with the other countries including India. CPEC is a glimpse of this notion.
2. China is also concerned about the terrorism, extremism, insecurity and instability in Pakistan.
3. China is also concerned about the links between Al-Qaeda, TTP and Uighur East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM). ETIM is a militant group that operates in Chinese province of Xinjiang.
4. China is also concerned about the security of Chinese workers in Pakistan.
5. China and Pakistan are also concerned about the outside involvement of US and India in activities aimed at sabotaging Pak-China relations. US and India are trying to hinder the Gawadar Project and the CPEC.
6. India is also meddling in Balochistan, FATA, and Karachi which is a source of concern for both the Pakistan and the China.
7. Trade imbalance with China is also a concern of Islamabad.

10. Conclusion

Thus China and Pakistan are all-weathered and time-tested friends. Their relation is higher than Himalyas and sweeter than honey. Both enjoy strong diplomatic, defense, economic and cultural ties. Both understand each other and help and support each other. Both want peace and stability in the region and to curtail the influence of India, US and Russia in the region. They are also working together to overcome the current challenges being faced by the region.

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Foreign Policy of Pakistan post 9/11

1. Introduction

Foreign policy is defined as relation between two sovereign states. It is formulated by considering the national interests and domestic, international, regional and global dynamics. It indicates the principles and preferences on which a country wants to establish its relations with other countries. A country may cultivate relation with other country to get cooperation and support in diplomatic, defense, economic and cultural dimensions. Pakistan is a developing country and has formulated its foreign policy by keeping in mind its geography, politics and economy. Jinnah once said that our foreign policy would be based on friendliness and goodwill, non-aggression, honest and fair play, promotion of peace and prosperity, and upholding of UN Charter. Since inception, Pakistan has been in relation with its neighbors (India, Afghanistan, China, and Iran), USA,

USSR, Muslim countries and other countries of the world. Pakistan's foreign policy before 9/11 was based on respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-alignment and non-interference, and cordial relations with the Muslim countries. But 9/11 proved to be the turning point in the foreign policy of Pakistan. It forced Pakistan to reconsider its foreign policy towards Afghanistan, India, USA, Russia, China, and Muslim countries that has far lasting effect on Pakistan.

2. Basic principles of Foreign policy of Pakistan right before 9/11

Foreign policy of Pakistan was based on the following principles before 9/11:

1. Respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty
2. Non-interference and non-alignment
3. Cordial relations with Muslim countries
4. Following the basic ideology of Islam
5. Promotion of world peace
6. Implementation of UN Charter
7. Resolution of Kashmir Issue

3. Goals of Foreign Policy of Pakistan

Followings are the goals of FP of Pakistan:

1. Mutual cooperation and support in the diplomatic, defense, economic, education, science and technology, and cultural dimensions for mutual benefits
2. Domestic, regional and global peace and security
3. Balance of power in the region
4. Countering terrorism and extremism
5. Seeking the membership of regional and international organizations

4. Incidence of 9/11

9/11 changed the scenario of the whole world. About 2800 people were died when attacks were made on WTC and Pentagon. President Bush identified Al-Qaida movement of UBL based in Afghanistan as the main culprit of 9/11 and started WOT against it. Bush started 'no-holds-barred operation' and gave the Pakistan the straight choice 'You are either with us or against us'. In the meanwhile, UNSC also passed Resolution 1368 calling for mutual efforts for countering terrorism and not supporting and harboring terrorist activities. Bush gave a list of demand to Musharaf which went as:

1. To stop Al-Qaida operation on Pakistani border and intercept arm shipments and logistic support from Pakistan.
2. To give landing rights to US planes
3. To give access to air and naval bases and borders
4. To share intelligence and information
5. To curb domestic expression of support for terrorism against the US
6. To stop Pakistani volunteers from going into Afghanistan
7. To break diplomatic relations with the Taliban.

Bush demanded cooperation from Pakistan under dire consequences. Musharaf, after long discussions with top military officials, decided to join USA accepted all demands and became front-line ally of US against WOT.

Musharaf said,

"The choice is between saving Pakistan or the Taliban and I am opting for Pakistan. Pakistan comes first and everything else comes later".

5. Foreign Policy of Pakistan post 9/11

After 9/11, Pakistan's foreign policy towards US, Russia, China, and Muslim countries remained almost the same as it was before 9/11. However, Pakistan's foreign policy was changed and Pakistan took U-turn with respect to Afghan Taliban and Kashmir Mujahideen.

1. Change in Pakistan's Afghan policy post 9/11

At the inception of Pakistan, Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan became tensed because of Durand Line dispute and claim of Afghanistan on territory of NWFP and Balochistan. During soviet-afghan war, Pakistan supported Afghan Mujaheedin. After the war, Pakistan recognized and supported Taliban government from 1996-2001 and provided it with economic, political and diplomatic support due to the following reasons:

1. Pakistan hoped that Taliban will recognize Durand Line and will also give up their claim on Pakistani territories of NWFP and Balochistan.
2. Pakistan would be able to get 'Passage Economy' through Afghanistan and will cultivate economic relations with CARs.
3. Pakistan supported Taliban because India supported Northern Alliance, the Taliban opposition. By supporting Taliban, Pakistan countered India's interests in Afghanistan.
4. Pakistan hoped to resolved Afghan Refugee issue.
5. Pakistan hoped that support of Taliban will keep its western border non-alive.

6. Pakistan supported Taliban because Pakistan thought that India was trying to encircle Pakistan from both borders: east and west.

Thus, before 9/11, relations with Afghanistan were good because Taliban were pro-Pakistani.

But after 9/11, the whole scenario was changed and Pakistan was forced to take a 180^{o} turn and to stop supporting Afghan Taliban. Musharaf was given the option that 'you are either with us or against us'. Musharaf joined US WOT and took U-turn on Afghan policy and supported this U-turn that it will bring national security, revival of economy, safeguarding of national assets, and resolution of Kashmir issue. UNSC Resolution 1368 calling for collective efforts to stop terrorism and not supporting and harboring terrorists can also be cited as a justification for change in Pakistan's Afghan policy.

Defending the new Afghan policy, Musharaf said,

> **"Pak-Afghan policy has always been on right direction. Past policy was oriented to supreme national interests and it has not met with failure rather it had undergone change in line with the changing circumstances".**

Thus Pakistan's foreign towards Afghanistan was changed and Pak was made to compromise its non-interference, non-alignment, and good relations with the Muslim countries principles of its foreign policy.

2. Change in Pakistan's Kashmir policy post 9/11

Before 9/11, relations with India were not good because of Kashmir issue. Relations with India almost always remained strained. Kashmir issue led to the wars of 1948, 1965, 1971. War of Runn of Kutch 1965 and Kargil war 1999 were also fought. In 1971, India was instrumental in division of Pakistan and creation of Bagladesh. Pakistan always supported Kashmir cause directly or indirectly at every forum. In the late 80's, Kashmiris started freedom movement against the India which made Kashmir a hot topic of discussion in the world. Pakistan supported the freedom movement because it kept the Kashmir issue alive. Pakistan also tried to internationalize the Kashmir issue and urged international community to play its role in resolving the core issue of South Asia.

After 9/11, Indian PM demanded ban on aid and assistance to the countries supporting terrorism (implied reference to Pak). He further said real source of terrorism is in our neighborhood and that India had already warned international community of the danger of militarization in Kashmir. Indian PM tried to equalize the Kashmir freedom movement with terrorism and alleged its sources in

Pakistan.

After 9/11, Pakistan changed its policy towards Kashmir and gave a clear message that Pakistani soil would not be allowed to be used for terrorism against any country anywhere in the world. He further said that a freedom movement is going on in Kashmir and Pakistan could not be held responsible for any action against the Indian tyranny and repression.

Musharaf also banned many fundamentalist groups like Lashkar-e-Tayiba, Sipha-e-Sahaba etc. who were supporting Kashmir Mujahideen.

In 2004, Musharaf also said that Pakistan was willing to show flexibility on Kashmir issue and to put aside the UN Resolution provided India shows flexibility too.

6. Impact of change in foreign policy after 9/11

1. Benefits of change in foreign policy

1. US lifted sanctions against Pakistan.
2. US rescheduled and waived-off Pakistan debt to provide economic ease to Pakistan.
3. US also supported IMF, World Bank and Asian Bank programs for Pakistan.
4. US also ease restrictions on textile items from Pakistan.
5. US friendly countries Japan, Britain and EU's also provided economic assistance to Pakistan.
6. US gave non-NATO ally status to Pakistan for extending diplomatic support, economic and technological assistance, and sympathetic consideration of the request for weapon supply.

"Pakistan is our strongest ally in our fight against terrorism and we want to build up and strengthen its institutions".

Collen Powell (US Foreign Secretary of State)

2. Costs of change in foreign policy

1. Civil unrest was created as Islamist outfits took to streets against the policy.
2. Every day strikes led to closure of shops and business and cancellation of international orders.
3. It led to formation of anti-Pakistan government in Afghanistan which has exposed the western border to aggression any time.
4. National security is still threatened by India. Economy suffered a lot. Our strategic assets were threatened by the US, India and Israel. Kashmir issue has lost in the haze. WOT has created over the region.

5. Pakistan has suffered civil and military human loss of over 50,000 people
6. Pakistan launched military operation in Swat and FATA to prevent Talibanization in Pakistan
7. Bomb blasts caused loss of infrastructure.
8. Influx of Afghan refugees is also burden on economy of Pakistan.

7. Hurdles in the way of achieving foreign policy

1. Pakistan's geostrategic location makes it important in regional and world politics. Thus, Pakistan's foreign policy is affected by regional and international politics.
2. Weak domestic institutions, institutional clash, and lack of infrastructure also make Pakistan dependent upon outsiders who then affect foreign policy of Pakistan.
3. Foreign debt and aid is also a hurdle in the way of independent foreign policy.
4. Pro-US mindset of policy makers is also a hurdle.
5. Pakistan's hostile relation with India is also a hurdle.
6. Pakistan's role in WOT as front-line ally also affects its foreign policy considerations.
7. Political, economic and social backwardness of Pakistan also hinders achievement of foreign policy.
8. Nuclear proliferation issue also negatively affects achievement of Pakistan's foreign policy.

8. Measure that can help in achieving foreign policy

1. Pakistan's foreign policy should be based on Non-interference and non-alignment, Cordial relations with neighboring and Muslim countries and Resolution of Kashmir Issue.
2. Pakistan should solve its political, economic and social problems.
3. Pakistan should get rid of foreign debt and aid and should adopt the policy of self reliance.
4. Pakistan should exploit its natural resources.
5. Pakistan should focus on science, technology, commerce, business and technical education.
6. Pakistan should make its China ties the strongest.

9. Conclusion

Change in foreign policy of Pakistan towards Taliban and Kashmir issue has

caused more loss than profit to Pakistan. There are many hurdles being faced by Pakistan in the way of achieving independent foreign policy. Pakistan should take effective steps at least to get rid of its domestic problems so that it may not have to depend upon others which will enable it to chalk out its independent foreign policy by taking into consideration the regional and international dynamics which are uncontrollable and must be considered before chalking out foreign policy.

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War in Afghanistan since 1979, impact on and challenges to Pakistan in the post 2014 era

1. Introduction

Afghanistan has been in war since 1979 mainly due to political instability, poor economic conditions, poor law and order conditions, Islamic fundamentalism and extremism, corruption, violation of human rights, Taliban, Al-qaida, warlaord, anti-government forces, foreign interference, and presence of international forces. If faced soviet war (1979-1989), civil war (1989-1996), oppressing and crushing Taliban rule (1996-2001) and war on terror (2001 to date). This war has caused drastic damage to Afghanistan in the form of imprisonments, torture, and injury, sexual violence, displacement and migration, damage to property and theft, trauma, lack of redress, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, corruption, suicide attacks, bombings and human trafficking to name a few. Since Pakistan is the neighbor of Afghanistan, this war in Afghanistan has also affected Pakistan in the form of burden of Afghan refugees, Talibanization of tribal areas, extremism, terrorism, drug and human trafficking, societal change, and gradual deterioration of writ of state in tribal areas and is presenting severe challenges to Pakistan in the post 2014 era. This war in Afghanistan has also affected regional and international security. There is a dire need to take effective steps to bring stability and peace in Afghanistan and to develop Afghanistan politically, economically, socially, culturally, and defensively in order to ensure peace and stability of the region and the whole of the world.

2. Brief history of war in Afghanistan since 1979

War in Afghanistan can be discussed in four eras namely:

1. Soviet war 1979-1989
2. Civil war 1989-1996
3. Oppressive, rigid and crushing Taliban rule 1996-2001
4. War on terror 2001 to date

Soviet war 1979-1989

After decades of a relatively stable monarchy, long-reigning Zahir Shah was overthrown by his cousin, Muhammad Daoud Khan in 1973. By the late 1970s, Daoud's attempts at reforms were faltering. It led to the dissatisfaction and growth of national communist parties which were support by Soviet Union. In 1978, Daoud with his family was executed in a communist coup led by Nur M.

Taraki.
Taraki employed suppression and violence to implement socialist reforms. Amin overthrew Taraki in Oct 1979. Amin also used violence to implement reforms which sparked resistance form Islamic factions known as Mujahideen.
As the conflict intensified, the Soviet invaded Afghanisan in Dec 1979 to support communists. Mujahideen wages a guerrilla war (hit-and-run) in rural areas. This war led to the killings, disabilities, injuries, displacements and migrations, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and destruction of infrastructure.
Various countries including US, China, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan generally and US in particular provided funds, training and weapons to Mujahideen.
As casualties of soviet troops mounted and soviet domestic opinion turned against the war, the soviet signed Geneva Accords in April 1988 and withdrew from Afghanistan.

Civil war 1989-1996

After the soviet withdrawal, a rotating presidency was agreed upon but an overt civil war erupted when Rabbani refused to step down in Dec 1992. Now, different factions were not fighting an ideologically-driven war but for power and control. Civil war led to killings, abductions, sexual violence, forced marriages, rapes, and destruction of infrastructure.

Oppressive, rigid and crushing Taliban rule 1996-2001

In 1993, Taliban (Pashtun movement) appeared to scene vowing to end violence and establish order. Foreign countries included Pakistan provided financial and technical support to Taliban. Taliban occupied and established their government in Kandhar in 1994 and Kabul in 1996. Once in power, Taliban enforced Shaiyat and followed rigid policies. Girls were denied from education and women from work. Females were force to wear Burqa and males to wear Shalwar Kameez and keep long beards. Public beatings of men and women were used to enforce the law. Television, radio, music, dancing, and pastimes like kite-flying were banned. Non-pashtun ethnic groups were persecuted. Economy came to standstill. Poverty, unemployment and illiteracy became widespread. Violation of human rights increased.
Due to rigid policies, Taliban lost domestic support. Moreover, various warlords allied with Rabbani, Massood, and Ismail Khan to form Northern Alliance. Northern Alliance included Uzbek, Hazara Shiyat, and anti-Taliban factions and got support from India, Iran and Russia.

War on terror 2001 to date

After the incidence of 9/11, US identified Taliban as main culprits and declared war on terrorism against Taliban. The goal of GWOT was to clean sweep Afghanistan as a safe haven for international terrorists. Taliban either fled to Pakistan or dissolved into local population. NA occupied Kabul in Nov 2001 and Kandhar the following month.

In Nov 2001, Bonn Agreement was signed in Germany by major Afghan factions to form an interim government headed by Hamid Karzai and to authorize an international peacekeeping force (ISAF) to maintain security in Afghanistan. Al Qaida and Taliban were excluded from this process. However, factions denied amnesty to war criminals and disarmament of their forces. Afghan Constitution was adopted in January 2004. However, in 2006 security situation deteriorated rapidly when Taliban resurged.

Now the Afghans were facing various problems relating to poverty, unemployment, poor health, education and infrastructure, displacement and migrations, depression, anxiety and mental disorder. Suicide attacks, bombings, abductions and human trafficking were common.

3. Costs of war to Afghanistan

Afghans suffered from war in the form of:

- Imprisonments, torture, and injury (putting in water, using electric shocks, and beatings, martyring and wounding)
- Sexual violence (dishonor, rape, and sexual assaults)
- Displacement and migration (Pak, Iran, to cities in Afghan)
- Damage to property and theft (lootings, burning of houses, fruit trees, orchards, destruction of irrigation system)
- Trauma (depression, anxiety, madness, and mental disorders)
- Lack of redress (compensation for loss of life or material damage, apology)
- Poverty, illiteracy, unemployment,
- Corruption,
- Suicide attacks, bombings and
- Human trafficking to name a few.

4. Impact of war in Afghanistan (WOT) on Pakistan

WOT caused Human loss

“Pakistan has given unprecedented sacrifices against WOT.”

Maryam Orangzaib Palimony Secretary for interior

Suicide attacks, bomb blasts and drones caused almost more than 50000 civil

and military casualties. Attacks have been all over the Pakistan especially targeted areas were FATA, LHR, KRI, ISL, Quetta and Peshwar.

WOT caused economic loss

Pakistan has suffered more than $100 Billion in direct and indirect costs. WOT led to loss of infrastructure, loss of business and market, loss of investment and FDI in the country. It also led to capital flight from the country.

Influx of Afghan Refugees

Problem of refugees was started in Soviet war and became severe after WOT in Afghanistan. More than 6 million Afghanis migrated to Pakistan. These refugees present financial and security challenge to the country.

Terrorism and Extremism

Extremism and terrorism were on their extreme during the WOT. Foreign and local Talibans and extremists caused damage to infrastructure and economic loss by making suicide attacks and bomb blasts.

Loss of security

War on terror resulted in a very severe security loss. Terrorists attacked mosques, imambargahs, churches, schools, universities, and air bases and naval stations. Most recent events were Karachi Bus Shooting 2015 (carrying Ismailies), Lahore Church Bombings 2015 (Yohana Abbad), Peshawar APS attack , Lahore Wahga Border Suicide attack, Quetta Airbase Attack, and Jinnah International Airport Attack in Karachi.

Psychological impacts

WOT also resulted in loss of peace of mind and became sick mindedness of the people and contributed to their pessimism. Most of the people became the victims of depression and insomnia.

Bad image of Pakistan

Incidences of terrorism and extremism in Pakistan created bad image of Pakistan in the world. The world thinks that Pakistan is the breeding place of Taliban who pose challenge to the nuclear weapons and materials of Pakistan.

Loss of sovereignty

US launched drone attacks to kill terrorists in Afghanistan and tribal areas of Pakistan. These drone attacks severely challenged the sovereignty of Pakistan.

Anti-American sentiments

Pakistani public considers that WOT was imposed on Pakistan by USA. Also due to the human and economic loss and drone attacks, anti-American sentiments

have been created among most of the Pakistanis.

Military operation in tribal areas and problem of IDPs

Pakistani army launched operation against Talibans in FATA which not only resulted in destruction of infrastructure but also the problem of IDPs. The rehabilitation of IDPs and revival of normal life in tribal areas is the main challenge being faced by Pakistani government.

5. Challenges of war in Afghanistan to Pakistan post 2014

US announced that it will withdraw NATO forces from Afghanistan till 2014. There are two possibilities after the withdrawal.

- First: after withdrawal of US, a strong Afghan government may be established. In that case, it is quite probable that India-Afghan ties may go against Pakistan. India may try to create 2nd front for Pakistan to disintegrate Pakistan.
- Second: there may be resurgence of Taliban in Afghanistan which may lead to insurgency in Pakistan and instability in the whole region.

6. Root causes of war in Afghanistan

Afghanistan has been in war since 1979 mainly due to:

- Political instability (lack of stable government)
- Poor economic conditions (poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, destruction of infrastructure)
- Poor law and order conditions (killings, imprisonment, torture, injuries, social violence)
- Islamic fundamentalism and extremism (Shiyat-Sunni)
- Corruption (bribery, lack of formal procedures, transparency and accountability)
- Violation of human rights
- Taliban, al-qaida, warlaord, anti-government forces waging guerilla war
- Foreign interference (Iran, Russia, India, Saudia, Pak, US, China), and
- Presence of international forces (NATO, US, ISAF).

7. Recommendations to end war and bring peace in Afghanistan

To the Afghan Government

- To establish rule of law
- To eliminate corruption by ensuring audit and monitoring

- To end culture of patronage and impunity
- To ensure transparency
- To streamline government procedures
- To maintain human rights by establishing independent police and judiciary
- To promote merit
- To implement investigation, documentation, and redress system

To the international community

- To create employment opportunities
- To build schools and colleges
- To build factors and industries
- To keep a check on the Afghan government to dismiss corruption and power misuse
- To provide support to local peace-building and conflict resolution initiatives
- To end adverse interference in Afghanistan's affairs

To pro-government forces

- To fight only in places where there are Taliban and anti-government forces
- To stop killing civilians
- To respect Afghan culture, history, norms, traditions
- To stop unnecessary searching of homes in rural areas

To anti-government forces

- To immediately discontinue the targeting of civilians
- To stop taking refuge in highly populated areas
- To express their grievances and demands through political dialogue rather than violence

8. What should Pakistan do

Pakistani government should take the following steps:

1. It should follow the strategy of 3D's: Dialogue with those who are willing to give up, Development of infrastructure and normal life, and Deterrence with the non-surrendering Talibans.
2. It should make its borders strong.
3. It should make efforts to stop drone attacks.
4. It should ensure political instability in the country.
5. It should make good relations with neighbors.
6. It should resolve its energy crisis.
7. There should be positive role of media and intellectuals. Positive criticism followed by practicable suggestions should be adopted.

9. Conclusion

War in Afghanistan is presenting economic, security and sovereignty challenges to Afghanistan and is badly affecting its socio-politico-economic fabric. Its cost is huge and impacts are long-lasting. It is also presenting challenge to Pakistan. It is of utmost need to recognize the root causes of Afghan conflict and to take effective steps to end this conflict. No stone should be left turned for combating terrorists and extremists. This is only through taking strong decisions and effective steps that we can realize the dream of prosperous and developed Afghanistan, Pakistan, the region and the whole world.

10. WOT and violation of HR

- Right to live
  - extra-judicial killings, drones, suicide, bombings, raids, land mines
- Right to move
  - check-points, land mines, forced displacements and migrations
- Right to express
  - ban on television, radio, education
- Right to justice
  - corrupt and ineffective police and judiciary
- Right to property
  - burning of houses, trees, orchards
- Right to dignity and respect
  - Sexual violence (dishonor, rape, and sexual assaults)
  - No apology for harms
- Right to physical and mental security:
  - Imprisonments, torture, and injury (putting in water, using electric shocks, and beatings, martyring and wounding)
  - Trauma (depression, anxiety, madness, and mental disorders)
- Right to earn livelihood
  - destruction of infrastructure-irrigation system, factories, orchards and fruit trees
- Right to education
  - ban on getting education, destruction of schools

- Right to redress
    - no compensation for damage to life or material things

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Political evolution since 1971

1. Introduction

History of Pakistan has been characterized by civil military tensions since inception. Due to these tensions, evolution of political process has been delayed that has caused serious challenge to the survival and development of Pakistan. Pakistan remained under direct military rule for half of its life and under civil leadership subjected to shadow of military and intelligence agencies for the remaining half. Our neighboring India that emerged on the same day has strong political institutions and is the biggest democracy in the world. On contrary, politics in Pakistan is still under evolutionary phase. It is the need of time that Pakistan should have strong political institutions that are pre-requisite for the development of country.

2. Political history of Pakistan before 1971

Before 1971, Pakistan remained under strong control of civil and military

bureaucracy. Initially, first decade of Pakistan is ruled by civil bureaucracy and second decade by military leadership under martial law. Politics in Pakistan before 1971 can be discussed as:

1. Initially Jinnah became first Governor General of Pakistan and Liaqat Ali Khan the first PM. They faced the political problems w.r.t. Kashmir issue, refugees, formulation of constitution and language. Pakistan fought war of 1948 with India. Also, protests sparked in East Bengal when Jinnah declared the Urdu as state language. After the death of Jinnah, Khuwaja Nazam-Uddin became the second Governor General of Pakistan.
2. In March 1949, Liaqat Ali Khan presented Objective Resolution that was the first step towards the constitution and politics of Pakistan. It gave the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and justice.
3. In 1951, after the assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan, Ghulam Muhammad became the third Governor General and Khawaja Nazam-Uddin became the second PM of Pakistan.
4. In 1953, GG Ghulam Muhammad removed Khawaja Nazam-Uddin from his office and appointed Muhammad Ali Bogra as PM. Bogra gave Bogra Formula for future constitution of Pakistan. He recommended bi-cameral legislature for future constitution of Pakistan with equal representation of five provinces.
5. In 1954, GG Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the constituent assembly and declared state of emergency on grounds of unrest in the country because of language (Urdu-Bengali) conflict and anti-Ahmadi movement. However, Bogra was allowed to continue as PM with new cabinet.
6. In 1955, Bogra was dismissed by the acting GG Sikandar Mirza in the absence of Ghulam Muhammad who was on leave. Chaudhry M. Ali was appointed as PM and Sikandar Mirza became the fourth GG of Pakistan.
7. In 1956, Constitution of Pakistan was passed in which Pakistan was declared Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Constituent assembly became interim national assembly and GG Sikandar Mirza became the first President of Pakistan. In the constitution, President was the authority of Federation. Chaudhry M. Ali resigned in 1956, Suharwady and Chandrigar resigned in 1957. General Ayub Khan became the chief martial law administrator in 1957.
8. On October 7, 1958, President Sikandar Mirza and PM Noon were deposed by Ayub Khan and first martial law was imposed.
9. In 1962, second constitution of Pakistan was given with presidential form

of government and uni-cameral legislature.

10. In 1965, Presidential elections were held between Fatima Jinnah and Ayub Khan. System of Basic Democracy was implemented and president was to be elected by Electoral College of 80,000. Ayub Khan was elected president.
11. In 1970, situation in East Pakistan was deteriorated. Ayub Khan resigned and Yahya Khan became the second martial law administrator. Yahya Khan presented LFO (Legal Framework Order) in which he announced direct balloting and dissolved one-unit scheme.
12. In 1970, first general elections were held in which Awami League got absolute majority in East Pakistan and PPP got majority in West Pakistan. Yahya Khan and ZA Bhutto refused to hand over power to Mujeeb-ur-rehman. Mujeeb initiated civil disobedience movement. Soon situation was deteriorated. India announced support for East Pakistan. As a result East Pakistan became Bengladesh.

3. Political evolution since 1971

Political evolution since 1971 can be discussed in the following parts:

1. Democratic era (1971-77)
2. Military rule (1977-88)
3. Democratic era (1988-99)
4. Military rule (1999-2007)
5. Democratic era (2008-onwards)

1. Democratic era 1971-77

During Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (ZA Bhutto) era, army was initially demoralized and weak due to Dhaka debacle. ZA Bhutto initially controlled military and prevented it from growing politically. He installed mechanisms so as to not to allow military to flourish economically. Bhutto signed Simla Accord in 1972 and gave the third constitution of Pakistan in 1973.

But soon military was in a position to regain its power because of political blunders made by politicians including the PPP and PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) and the failure of civilian government to bring country out of crises. PPP was charged of rigging the elections of 1977. Zia imposed martial law.

2. Military rule 1977-88

Zia supported Afghan Mujahdeen against USSR and followed the Islamiazation process in Pakistan to get support of religious parties. He lifted martial law in 1985 and held non-partisan elections. Muhammad Khan Junejo became the PM

who extended Zia's term as COAS until 1990. Soon, Junejo fell out with Zia and was thrown out of power by Zia who announced elections in November 1988. Zia died in a plane crash in 1988.

3. Democratic era 1988-99

Benazir Bhutto (BB) was PM from December 1988 to August 1990. Initially, BB was aware of military's power so she gave major concessions to military, but soon the relations of BB's government with the military turned bitter (unromantic) over various issues and as a result her first civilian government was sacked by president in 1990.

Nawaz Sharif became PM in 1990 with endorsement of President and Military officers. He maintained cordial relations with the military on all the key issues, but soon, NS's relations with the military became bitter on various issues President Ishaq Khan dismissed Nawaz's government with the back of army.

BB assumed office as PM for the second time in Octorber 1993. BB's relations with the military were much improved because she avoided interference into the internal affairs of the army and considered its input in major domestic, security and foreign policy issues. Soon, BB's relations with the army were deteriorated over various issues and president removed BB from her office in 1996.

Nawaz Sharif again turned to power in 1997 with absolute majority and found government in three provinces of Punjab, NWFP and Sindh. He introduced 13th and 14th amendment. Soon crises developed between the army and the civilian government, this time army instead of toppling the civilian government by civilian president directly interfered and imposed martial law.

4. Military rule 1999-2007

On 12 October 1999, Sharif tried to dismiss Musharaf and install Ziauddin Butt in his place which was refused by senior generals. In May 2000, Supreme Court ordered government to hold general election by October 2002. Accordingly, elections were held in October 2002 and PML (Q) came into power. On 1st January 2004, Musharaf got vote of confidence and legalized his rule. Musharaf resigned from COAS in 2007 and became president for the second term.

5. Democratic era 2008 to date

BB and NS came back to Pakistan. On 27th December 2007, BB was assassinated. General elections were held in 2008. PPP got sympathy votes and formed government. Yousaf Raza Gillani became PM. On August 18, 2008, Musharaf resigned. President AA Zardari assumed power in 2008. For the first time in the history of Pakistan, his government survived the five-year term although it also faced several issues like:

1) PPP's government, in 2008, placed ISI under the Interior Ministry's

control. But this decision was reverted due to military's pressure.

2) In 2009, Zardari concluded a deal with India about no first use of nuclear weapons.

3) Memo Gate Scandal was also an issue that led to controversies with the army. Due to this scandal, civil military relations were tensed and the army's top command controlled foreign policy towards India, Afghanistan and the USA.

Despite these issues, no military adventure occurred as both sides adopted accommodating attitude towards each other.

Nawaz Sharif came in power as a result of May 2013 elections. Although civil military relations are accommodating towards each other for the time being, controversies arose on certain issues like:

1) Geo News Issue

2) Attack on Hamid Mir and the statement of Information Minister to support pen

3) Army was also maligned by the government because government accused army of supporting PTI's Dharna.

However, now the relations are normal because all the important issues relating to the domestic, security and foreign policy are decided in consultation with the army. Now the army prefers its role over its rule.

4. Why political evolution remained slow in Pakistan?

1. The areas Pakistan inherited at inception (Punjab, KPK, Sindh, Balochistan, Bengal, and FATA) were either under tribal controls or were grounds for recruitment of military and civil bureaucracy. In either case, political development in these areas was difficult.
2. Pakistan inherited feudalism at inception has also been a hurdle in the way of democracy in Pakistan. Feudalists were against the status-quo. Although Ayub Khan and ZA Bhutto tried to implement land reforms, yet nothing concrete could be achieved.
3. At inception, Political parties had to depend on civil bureaucracy for administration of the country and on military bureaucracy for combating Indian aggression. This made political parties dependent on civil and military bureaucracy which has been a hurdle in the way of political development in Pakistan.
4. Constitutional crisis has also been a hurdle in the way of political developoment in Pakistan. For example, constitution of 1956 was abrogated in 1958, of 1962 in 1969, and of 1973 in 1977.
5. Lack of committed, visionary, and true democratic leadership has also been a hurdle in the way of political development in Pakistan.

6. Too much centralized (over-developed) state structure is also a hurdle in the way of political development in Pakistan.
7. Clash, tussle and lack of coordination between the institutions (executive, judiciary and parliament) is also a hurdle in the way of political development in Pakistan.
8. Illiteracy (lack of education and awareness) and poverty (being unable to realize the value of vote) has also been a hurdle in the way of political development in Pakistan.
9. Lack of accountability and transparency led to corruption and election rigging and has been a hurdle in the way of political development is Pakistan.
10. Non-democratic political parties have also been a hurdle in the way of political development in Pakistan.
11. Personal and vested interests of the politicians have also been a hurdle in the way of political development in Pakistan.
12. Economic backwardness, political instability, social deterioration, and martial laws have also been a hurdle in the way of political development in Pakistan.

6. Way forward

1. Steps should be taken to get rid of feudalism as soon as possible.
2. Civil and military bureaucracy should work within their boundaries and should not cross their limits.
3. Constitutional should be made strong by following it in true spirit.
4. Pakistan needs a committed, visionary, and true democratic leadership.
5. Too much centralization is troublesome. Policy of decentralization should be followed by conducting local bodies elections.
6. Coordination between the institutions (executive, judiciary and parliament) should be encouraged.
7. Effective steps should be taken to get rid of Illiteracy and poverty.
8. Accountability and transparency should be ensured to get rid of corruption and election rigging.
9. Political parties should conduct intra-party elections to become democratic.
10. Effective steps should be taken to overcome the problems of economic backwardness, political instability, social deterioration, and martial laws.

7. Conclusion

Politics remained slow to evolve in Pakistan due to various reasons especially because of civil military tensions. There is a need to take and implement appropriate decisions to fully develop politics in Pakistan. It is only through fully flourished politics that we can achieve the objective of prosperous, strong and developed Pakistan.

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Palestine Issue / Arab-Israel Conflict

1. Introduction

Palestine issue dates back to 1882 when Zionist movement began by which European Jewish immigrated to Palestine to form their own state. Palestinians (Muslims, Christians, and Druze) were already residing in Palestine. The conflict

began as a struggle over land between the Jews and the Palestinians. The major causes of the conflict were the competing Jewish and Arab claims to land, conflicting promises by the British in the forms of Hussein-McMahon Correspondence and the Balfour Declaration of 1917, and the several breakouts of violence, wars and Intifadas between the Jews and the Arabs residents of Palestine. Various issues arose out of this conflict relating to final borders, Jerusalem, Refugees, Security needs, settlements and water resources. Although various solutions have been recommended to resolve the conflict, yet there are several hurdles in the way of reaching the solution. Effective steps must be taken to over these hurdles and to settle the issue that arouse out of the conflict. Arabs, Israel, US and the UN should take pragmatic steps to resolve this conflict.

2. History of Arab-Israel conflict

- Palestine issue dates back to 1882 when Zionist movement began by which European Jewish immigrated to Palestine to form their own state. Palestinians (Muslims, Christians, and Druze) were already residing in Palestine.
- At that time, Palestine was a part of Ottoman Empire.
- In 1915, during the First World War, British made three conflicting promises. British High Commissioner in Egypt, McMahon promised Husain (Hashemite ruler) to establish an independent Arab state under Hashemite rule if Husain led an Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire. Husain agreed and the revolt was successful.
- In 1917, British Foreign Minister, Balfour issued Balfour Declaration announcing the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.
- Also a secret Sykes-Picot Agreement between Britain and France took place to carve up the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire and divided the control of the region.
- After the war, France took mandate (an authorization to govern over conquered territory) and Lebanon appeared as a separate state. British took mandate over Iraq and the second area which now includes Jordan, Israel, West Bank and Gaza Strip. British divided the second area into Jordan and Palestine Mandate. This was the first time when Palestine became a political entity.
- Arabs were angered because independent Arab state was not created and that Jews started migration to Palestine.
- Between 1920 and 1930, clashes broke out between Arabs and Jews over

religious rights at the Western (Wailing) Wall that was a holy place for both the Muslims and the Jews and contained sacred places including Temple Mount, Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the Dome of the Rock.

- In 1939, Arab revolt was crushed by the British with the help of Zionists. British also issued White Paper limiting future Jewish immigration and promising independence of Palestine in 10 years. This antagonized the Zionists.
- Following WWII, hostilities escalated between Arabs, Jews and British army.
- In 1947, UNGA voted partition of Palestine into two states, one for Jews (56%) and other for Arabs (43%), on the request of the Britain. Jews accepted and Arabs rejected the partition.
- Fighting began between Arabs and Jews and neighboring Arabs (Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq) invaded to save the Palestine from Zionists.
- In 1949, Armistice Lines (Green Line) were drawn and Palestine was divided into three parts: Israel (over 77% occupied by Jews), Gaza strip (taken by Egypt) and West Bank (taken by Jordan). Over 7,00,000 Palestinians became refugees who migrated to Gaza, West Bank, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia and other parts of the world. Those who remained in Israel became second-class citizens.
- In 1967, a war against took place between Israel, Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Israel captured Gaza and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, Golan Heights from Syria and West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan. Israel declared Jerusalem its 'eternal capital' and annexed it to Israel. Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Al-Fatah and Hamas also emerged as political and armed groups. PLO and Israel refused to recognize each other. UNSC passed Resolution 242 calling for Israeli withdrawal from lands seized in the war. Israel claimed that it did not occupy but administered these lands.
- In 1967, Arab states passed Khartoum Resolution calling for no peace, no recognition and no negotiations with Israel.
- In 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel in Sinai Peninsula and Golan Heights to recover their lost land. In 1978, Camp David Accords were signed with US as mediator. These include peace treaty and proposal for grant of autonomy to Palestinian in West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- In 1987, first Intifada took place in the form of civil disobedience including demonstrations, strikes, stone throwing, boycotts of Israeli products etc.

Israel tried to crush the Intifada with force, power and beatings.

- In 1993, Oslo Accord was signed which gave Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles. PLO and Israel recognized each other. Israel agreed to withdraw from Gaza Strip and Jericho. PLO formed Palestinian Authority (PA) in the evacuated areas. Fatah won for Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) and Yasser Arafat became president. However, Islamic radicals rejected the Israel-PLO negotiations.
- Second Intifada took place in 2000. Israel declared it as war and used tanks, gunship helicopters, and even F-16 fighter planes. Oslo peace process came to an end.
- In 2002, Arab states presented Arab Peace Plan, calling for peace, recognition and negotiations with Israel provided Israel withdrew from all territories it occupied in since 1967 and establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza with East Jerusalem as its capital.
- In 2002, PM Sharon authorized construction of barrier separating Israel and West Bank.
- In 2002, US president, Bush called for an independent Palestinian state living side by side with Israel in peace. He gave a road map that included end to violence, political reforms in Palestinian Authority, withdrawal from Palestine and settlement freeze by Israel. This road map was to be supervised by Quartet (US, UN, British, and Russia).
- In 2005, Israel unilaterally withdrew its forces from Gaza Strip but kept its effective control.
- In 2007, a move was taken by Fatah against Hamas in Gaza. Hamas preempted the move and controlled Gaza while Fatah controlled West Bank.
- Between 2006 and 2008, secret negotiations between Olmert and Abbas took place which were published as Palestine Papers. Both agreed on Demilitarization of Palestinian state, Stationing of international forces on border between Palestine and Israel, Sharing Jerusalem and international committee to oversee its holy sites, Return of 10,000 refugees to Israel and compensation for the settlement of the rest, but territorial disputes continued. Netanyahu succeeded Olmert and refused to continue the negotiations from where they had left off.

Current situation

- Abbas petitioned for the full membership of the UN for Palestine but could not get nine required votes.
- West Bank and Gaza Strip are still disputed territories. Al-Fatah controls West Bank and Hamas controls Gaza.
- International opinion is unanimous for a two-state solution.
- Various incidences of violence and human rights violation take place in West Bank and Gaza. Rockets are launched from Gaza on Israel and air attacks are made by Israel.

3. Causes of Arab-Israel conflict

The major causes of the conflict were:

- The competing Jewish (right to land and security) and Arab (continued residents and demographic majority) claims to land,
- Conflicting promises by the British in the forms of Hussein-McMahon Correspondence (to form Arab state) and the Balfour Declaration (to form Jewish state) of 1917, and
- The several breakouts of violence, wars and Intifadas between the Jews and the Arabs residents of Palestine.

4. Possible Solutions of the conflict

Two-state solution, creation of independent Israel and Palestine, is widely accepted by the international community.

However, alternate solutions are also presented.

- Status Quo: Let the things remain as they are. No deal is better than a poor deal.
- One-state solution: with equal or differential political rights for its inhabitants.
- Three-state solution: formation of Independent Israel, West Bank and Gaza
- Jordan Option: West Bank be controlled by Jordan
- Egypt Option: Gaza be controlled by Egypt
- UN Trusteeship: interim international administration over the future Palestinian state.

5. Hurdles in the way of reaching a solution

- Israel is following the policy of ‘conflict management’ rather than ‘conflict resolution’.
- Settlements grow apace.
- There is a split between Fatah and Hamas. Al-Fatah follows negotiations strategy while Hamas follows resistance strategy.

- Palestinian refugees in neighboring Arabs and Palestinian citizens of Israel are adamant that peace must include them.
- There is lack of political will in Washington.

6. Key Issues that arouse out of the conflict

1. Nature of Palestinian state

Whether Palestine will be one, two or three independent states or under UN trusteeship or be attached to Jordan or Egypt

2. Jerusalem

Arabs demand that Palestine be recognized as independent state with East Jerusalem as its capital because Jerusalem is important cultural center for Palestinians. Israel regards Jerusalem as its eternal capital arguing that Judaism's most holy sites are in East Jerusalem.

3. Refugees

Palestinian refugees residing in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, West Bank, Gaza and elsewhere claim a 'right to return' which Israel rejects claiming that refugees should be absorbed by the Arab states.

4. Water resources

Arabs want to get control over Sea of Galilee, one of the major Israel's water resources, which Israel refuses.

5. Final borders

Arab states want Gaza, Sinai Peninsula, West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Golan Heights back. According to them, Israel cannot keep any land gained by war, no matter the circumstances. Israel refuses to give back land stating that it had won these in a war of self-defense and that it has the right to secure its borders.

6. Settlements

Israelis claim to have a right to live anywhere in the historical Jewish homeland. Arabs regards settlements as illegal because Israelis cannot live on land gained in war.

7. Trust deficit due to lack of diplomatic relations

Arab states passed Khartoum Resolution in 1967 calling for no peace, recognition and negotiations with Israel which led to trust deficit. Trust deficit is one of the hurdles in the way of implementing Arab Peace Plan.

8. Security needs

Israel agrees for peace but demands that the West Bank must be demilitarized with no heavy weapons. Arabs claim that there should not be any restrictions or

bans on heavy weapons in independent Palestinian state.

7. Suggestions to resolve the key issues

1. Two-state option is more viable than other options.
2. Jerusalem may be made joint capital of Palestine and Israel.
3. Refugees may come back to newly created independent Palestine. Israel may make compensations for the re-settlement of the refugees.
4. Water resources may be shared.
5. Option of land swaps may be used to solve border and settlement issue.
6. Guarantees (international, UN, US) may be given to overcome trust deficit issue and to ensure peace and security.

8. Conclusion

Palestine issue is a century-old issue. Its urgent solution is vital for the regional and global peace. Two-state solution is more viable and is endorsed by the UN and the US. Arab states and Israel should be realistic and must resolve issues that arouse out of conflict at the earliest. UN and the US may play the role of mediators and guarantors in this regard.

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Hydro-politics of Pakistan

1. Introduction

Water is the basic component of life. Life without water is impossible. Water is required for domestic, commercial and industrial use. Water is required for drinking, irrigation, energy and other purposes. There is also a strong link

between Blue Gold (water), Red Gold (Energy) and Green Gold (Agriculture). Water is the backbone of agriculture and agriculture is the backbone of Pakistan's economy. Agriculture constitutes 20.9% of GDP and provides 43.5% of employment. It also provides us with exports and food. Water is the lifeblood of agriculture. About 1/3rd (22.6 million acres) of land remains untapped mainly because of non-development of water resources. God has blessed Pakistan with abundant water resources in the form of river flows, rainfalls and ground water resources. Unfortunately, in spite of having abundant water resources, Pakistan is still facing severe water crises. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB), Pakistan has become one of the most water-stressed countries (per capita availability of surface water is less than 1000 cubic meters) and is likely to be characterized as water-scarce country very soon if pragmatic steps have not been taken to preserve water.

> **If the wars of this century were fought over oil, the wars of the next century will be fought over water. Ismail Serageldin (World Bank)**

2. Water resources of Pakistan

River flows

Pakistan has three major river basins: Indus Basin (142 maf), Makran Coastal Basin (3 maf), and Kharan Closed Desert Basin (.8 maf). Of the total available annual flow in Indus Basin (140 maf), 106 maf is directed into the irrigation system while the remaining 36 maf goes downstream Kotri, where around 10 maf is used below Kotri and the remaining 26 maf goes into Indian Ocean unused.

Rainfall

Monsoon and Westerly currents are the two main sources of water from rainfall. Average rainfall over Pakistan is around 12 inches. Approximately 17 maf are available from hill torrent flows.

Ground water resources

Ground water supplies around 45% of crop water requirements since it permits farmers to have greater control over water and its timely application to crops. Approximately 56 maf are available from ground water resources.

Thus, in total, Pakistan gets around 215 maf of water from river (142 maf), rainfall (17 maf) and ground water (56 maf) resources. Out of this, 170 maf is used for irrigation / agriculture (100 maf is actually used at farmgate), 5.8 maf for municipal and sanitation, 2.2 maf for industry, and around 36 maf goes to

Indian Ocean unused. Around 100 maf can be saved if field loss and downstream -going unused water is saved.

3. Physical infrastructure of water

As far as the physical water infrastructure is concerned, there were 3 large dams (Terbela, Mengla, Chashma), about 80 small and medium dams, 45 canals, 18 barrages and 12 link canals in Pakistan by 2011. 2 new dams are proposed (Kalabagh and Bhasha).

4. Pakistan's international and national agreements on water distribution

Indus Water Treaty 1960 was signed by Pakistan and India with the World Bank as mediator. India was given exclusive use of Eastern rivers (Ravi, Satluj, Beas) and Pakistan was given the use of Western rivers (Indus, Jehlum, Chenab). However, India was allowed to build limited capacity hydro-power projects on Pakistani run-of-river waters but was not allowed to build dams or change the direction of Pakistani waters. Pakistan lost its rights of water as lower riparian. World Bank also aided Pakistan in construction of Menglla and Terbella dams for water storage.

In 1991, Indus Water Appropriation Accord was signed by the four provinces of Pakistan on March 16 at Karachi. Allocation was 56 maf to Punjab, 48 maf to Sindh, 9 maf (6+3) to NWFP and 4 maf to Balochistan. Future storages were 37% each to Punjab and Sindh, 14% to NWFP, and 12% to Balochistan.

5. Pakistan: a water-stressed country

According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB), Pakistan has become one of the most water-stressed countries (per capita availability of surface water is less than 1000 cubic meters) and is likely to be characterized as water-scarce country very soon if pragmatic steps have not been taken to preserve water. The main reasons of Pakistan being water-stressed are climate change, lack of water storage, ineffective use of water and development of dams by India on Pakistani waters. Around 36 maf goes into sea and more than 50% water is lost in field application.

6. Causes of water scarcity / shortage in Pakistan / water related issues

Climate Change

Pakistan is located in a tropical area. Due to the climate change, increase in temperature has resulted in an increase in melting of glaciers on Himalyas and

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Karakarm and evaporation of water which is resulting in decrease in water availability in Pakistan.

Indian hydro projects on Pakistani waters

According to Indus Waters Treaty, Eastern waters (Ravi, Satluj, Beas) were given to India and Western waters (Indus, Chenab and Jehlum) were given to Pakistan. Currently, India is building a chain of new dams on Chenab and Jehlum (Pakistani waters) which is against the IWT and can cause serious economic and water problems (reduced inflows in droughts, floods in Monsoons) in Pakistan.

A list compiled by PICW (Permanent Indus Waters Commission) reveals that India had completed 41 hydropower projects, 12 are underway, and 155 are in pipeline, all on Pakistani waters.

Completed projects include Baglihar 1, Salal, Uri-1, Lower Jehlum, and Upper Sindh. Projects underway include Baglihar 2, Ranja Ala-Dunadi, Uri-2, and Kishanganga. Where planned projects include Sawalkot, Seli, Pakaldul, Bursar, Rattle, Kiru, Sonamarg Storage, Gangabal Storage, and Ujh Storage.

Pakistan has taken various projects to International Court of Arbitration (ICA) for justice and India has been barred from undertaking various projects by ICA. Conflict arises regarding the interpretation of IWT because:

- It is highly technical,
- It does not include climate change and global warming,
- Pakistan lost its rights on eastern rivers as lower riparian and that
- Pakistan is dependent solely on waters from Indus River Basin.

Internal

- Population growth: Population was 192 million and it is growing at 1.92% p.a. (2015). Demand of water is constantly increasing, while its supply is decreasing
- Rapid urbanization and industrialization have led to an increase in demand for water.
- Lack of dams: Pakistan has only 30-day storage capacity which should be 1000-day for a country like Pakistan. Pakistan has only 3 major dams namely Terbella, Mengla, and Chashma.
- Water seepage: More than 50% of water is lost in field application due to seepage because of unlined and porous banks of canals.
- Traditional agricultural techniques also lead to excessive use of water.
- Water-intensive crops like sugarcane and rice are mostly cultivated in Pakistan.

- Inter provincial disputes: Conflict among provinces is the major hurdle in the construction of dams which is leading to water shortage.
    - KPK, Sindh, and Baluchistan object Kalabagh dam mainly due to lack of trust that exists among the provinces because of enemy image, false hopes, and broken promises.
    - Inter-provincial differences on the interpretation of Water Apportionment Accord 1991
        - Section 6 (construction of additional storages): Punjab feels strongly that section 6 supports the construction of Kalabagh dam. While Sindh feels that Punjab will withdrew excess water out of it. And KPK feels that dam will threaten the Nowshehra city and agricultural land.
        - Section 7 (Minimum escapage to sea downstream Kotri): study to establish the minimu escapage needed downstream Kotri is still not conducted which is a source of conflict between Punjab and Sindh.
        - Section 14b (mode of sharing storages): Sindh blames Punjab for the theft of its water. In 1991 accord, Sindh got 1.2% more share and Punjab got 2.7% less share that their historical shares. Punjab contends that it got less share because it hoped to construct new storages. Since no new storages are built, it can take more water to get his full share.
- Silting of existing reservoirs: Around 25% (6.27 maf) storage capacity of all reservoirs is lost due to silting of reservoirs which is even more than the live capacity of Kalabagh Dam (6.1 maf).
- Water theft is also resulting is water shortage.
- Lack of funds to build large and small dams

7. Threats resulting from water-related issues

- Floods of 2005, 2010, 2014
    - Economic loss
    - Death, injuries
    - Diseases
    - Displacements
- Droughts
    - Less agricultural yield,
    - Food shortage,
    - Shortage of raw material for industry,
    - Unemployment and poverty

- Harsh impact on raising of livestock (source of livelihood) and Orchards (source of foreign exchange)
- Lowered water table may cause problems for population
- Inter-provincial competition may arise due to water shortage

8. Legislature to address water issues

1. PUNJAB IRRIGATION ACT 1873
2. PROVINCIAL SOIL RECLAMATION ACTS
3. WATER USERS ASSOCIATION ORDINANCES 1981
4. PIDA ACTS 1997
5. WAPDA ACT 158
6. IRSA ACT 1992

9. Recommend solutions

Cooperation is the only viable option as water is so important that nations cannot afford to fight over it.

1. Pakistan should high the importance of the issue on various international forums.
2. The effective role of Indus Waters Commissioners is the need of hour.
3. More large and small dams should be built. Akhori, Basha, Kalabagh, and Munda dams should be built quickly.
4. Inter-provincial steps should be resolved at any cost through mutual give-and-take policy.
    a. Council of Common Interests should play its role in resolving the inter-provincial conflicts.
    b. NA and Senate should take steps to discuss and develop consensus on water issues in Pakistan. These discussions may be open and include water experts and may be televised.
    c. Telemetry system should be improved and expanded.
    d. A sound ‘conflict resolution mechanism’ should be introduced.
    e. Guarantees may be provided to provinces.
    f. New accord may be signed or the existing accord may be updated.
    g. Cooperation and information sharing should be encouraged.
5. Other measures like reclamation of land from water logging and salinity, improvement of water courses and effective use of ground water should be taken.
6. People should be educated to conserve water
7. Government should make laws for the conservation of water

8. Ground water should not be used carelessly and should not be wasted
9. Modern irrigation techniques like trickling and sprinkling should be used for improved water distribution and utilization
10. Water theft should be minimized if not stopped.
11. New dams to be constructed must have provisions for silt flushing.
12. Lining of canals should be made.
13. Existing laws should be improved and new laws should be passed.
14. Forecasting system of floods and droughts should be made more effective.
15. There should be regulation of ground water pumping to check lowering of water table.

10. Conclusion

Water is linked to crises of climate change, energy and food supplies and prices and troubled financial markets. For Pakistan, water is the backbone of its agriculture and economy. Pakistan has become a water-stressed country and is running short of water due to climate change, Indian hydro projects of Pakistani waters and mismanagement of water resource. Water shortage can run havoc for Pakistan so it needs to take effective steps for effective and effective management of water.

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Constitutional Amendments

1. Introduction

Constitution of 1973 was a landmark achievement in the history of Pakistan. It was passed with the consensus of all the parties. It requires 2/3rd majority of

parliament to bring about any amendment in the constitution. Upto now, 21 amendments have been introduced in the constitution by the act of parliament. Some of the amendments were introduced by military dictators to legalize their rule and to make the presidency dominant over the parliament. Others were introduced by the civil rule to make parliament strong. There are also various amendments that were passed to counter important matters of the state.

Recent constitutional amendments

1. 18th Amendment

The 18th amendment can be considered as a turning point in the constitutional and political history of Pakistan, as it was unanimously accepted by all the parties. It was passed by NA on Apr 8, 2010, by Senate on Apr 15, 2010 and was signed by the President AA Zardari on Apr 19, 2010. Its main stress was to decrease the discretionary powers of the president to dissolve the NA.

Its main features are:

Parliament

1. Article 58-2(b) was repealed. President shall dissolve the National Assembly if so advised by the prime minister or where a vote of no-confidence has been passed against the prime minister.
2. On dissolution of the assembly or completion of its term, a caretaker shall be selected by the president in consultation with the outgoing prime minister and the leader of the opposition. The same rule shall apply to each province.
3. For ensuring good governance, Cabinet size would be 11 per cent of the members of Parliament and respective Provinces.
4. The Senate shall consist of 104 instead of 100 members with the addition of one minority member from each province.
5. Working days of the Senate have been increased from 90 to 110.

PM

6. There shall be no restriction on the number of terms for the offices of the prime minister and chief ministers.
7. Prime minister would advise the president on appointment of the chairman of the chiefs of staff committee and chiefs of three armed forces.
8. Prime Minister shall keep the president informed on all important matters and legislative proposals.

Provinces, ECP, Commissions, Judiciary

9. Proclamation of emergency in the province due to internal disturbances would require a resolution from the provincial assembly. If the president acts on its own,

it will require approval from both houses of parliament within 10 days.

10. The prime minister shall, in consultation with the leader of the opposition in the National Assembly, forward three names for appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner to a parliamentary committee for hearing and confirmation of any one person. In case there is no consensus between the prime minister and the leader of the opposition, each shall forward separate lists to the parliamentary committee for consideration, which may confirm one name.
11. The parliamentary committee, to be constituted by the speaker, shall comprise 50 per cent from the opposition parties, based on their strength in Parliament to be nominated by the respective parliamentary leaders.
12. The total strength of the parliamentary committee shall not exceed 12 members out of which one-third shall be from the Senate. Provided that when the National Assembly is dissolved and a vacancy occurs in the office of the chief election commissioner, the parliamentary committee shall comprise the members of the Senate only.
13. Chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission would be appointed by the president on the advice of the prime minister. Similarly, chairmen of the provincial public service commissions would be appointed by the governors on the advice of chief ministers.
14. Appointment of judges to the Supreme Court, there shall be a judicial commission. For appointment of judges of the Supreme Court, the commission, headed by the chief justice of Pakistan, shall also consist of two most senior judges of the apex court, a former chief justice or a former judge of the Supreme Court to be appointed by the chief justice in consultation with two member judges for a period of two years, federal minister for law and justice, Attorney General for Pakistan, and a senior advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan to be nominated by the Pakistan Bar Council for a period of two years.
15. The judicial commission for the appointment of High Court judge, headed by the chief justice of the High Court, would also include two most senior judges of the High Court, provincial law minister, a senior advocate to be nominated by the provincial bar council.

Others

16. A bill with respect to any matter in the Federal Legislative List may originate in either house and shall, if it is passed by the house in which it originated, be transmitted to the other house and if the bill is passed without amendment by the other house also, it shall be presented to the president for assent.
17. 17th Amendment to the Constitution and the Legal Framework Order (LFO) were

declared illegal and were repealed.

18. NWFP was renamed as 'Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa'.
19. A person shall be entitled to a fair trial and due process.
20. Restriction was imposed on the attorney general for doing private practice.
21. People shall have a right to justice and information.
22. Islamabad High Court to be established and its judges to be taken from the federal capital and four provinces.

Analysis

1. It made parliament strong by removing discretionary powers of president.
2. It will ensure cooperation between government and opposition.
3. Renaming NWFP as KPK was a conflict resolution step.
4. It gave advantage to PML (N) by removing bar on condition of number of terms for the offices of PM and CM.
5. It also ensured transparency in ECP, Judiciary and Commission.
6. It also gave rights to general people.

2. 19th Amendment

In 18th amendment, there were reservations of judiciary regarding the appointment of judges as they thought that it would undermine independence of judiciary. 19th amendment was passed to address these reservations.

1. 19th amendment has withdrawn the power of CJ to appoint ad hoc judges and now president will make appointments on the recommendations of Judicial Commission of Pakistan (JCP).
2. Number of members of JC would be eight. Four of them would be the Judges of SC, chief justice of SC, a representative of the SC Bar, Attorney General, and Federal Law Minister.
3. Parliament committee for judges' appointment would consist of 8 members. Four from the senate and four from the Lower House.
4. Parliamentary Committee shall send the name of the confirmed nominee to the PM who shall forward it to the president.
5. Parliamentary Committee will justify its decision if it rejects any nominee of the JC for the appointment of Judges.
6. PC meetings will be held in camera and a record of its proceedings shall be maintained.
7. PC will be allowed to discuss the conduct of judges but parliament will not be allowed to discuss the conduct of judges.

8. Similar changes were made for the JC for the appointment of judges of HC.
9. Laki Marwat and Tank districts are declared parts of FATA.
10. HC for Islamabad Capital Territory is renamed Islamabad HC.

Analysis

1. It was a step to make the judiciary independent.
2. It made the appointment of judges more transparent and merit-based and less political.
3. It effectively addressed the reservations of the judiciary.
4. Role of PM was introduced which was omitted in 18th amendement.

3. 20th Amendment

It was passed by NA on February 14, 2012 and by Senate on February 20, 2012. President signed it on February 28, 2012.

It has set down a process to install a caretaker set-up and hold free and fair elections and matters related to the office of Chief Election Commissioner and Members of Election Commission.

1. It reduced the number of committees at provinces for appointing caretaker chief ministers and their cabinets.
2. It requires constituting an eight-member committee each at the Center and the Provinces to nominate the prime minister and the chief ministers respectively and their cabinets.
3. If the constituted committees failed to evolve consensus on a caretaker set-up within three days, the matter would be referred to the ECP for appointing the Care taker Prime Minister and Chief Ministers.
4. The Amendment now requires the Chief Justice of Pakistan to administer oath of the new Chief Election Commissioner (CEC), who will then administer the oath to newly appointed members of the Election Commission.
5. Procedure for extension in the tenure of members of ECP or their removal will be the same as specified for the Chief Election Commissioner.
6. Member of the ECP is now required to send his resignation to the President.

Analysis

1. It will ensure transparent and free and fair elections.
2. It increases the independence of ECP.

4. 21th Amendment

The purpose of this amendment was to provide constitutional cover to the special military courts. It was presented in NA on Jan 3, 2015. It was for the amendments in Constitution 1973 and Pakistan Army Act, 1952. It was endorsed by the APC on Jan 2, 2015 in which anti-terrorism NAP was given.

1. After this amendment, the Pakistan Army can take any action against attackers of civil, military institutions in the country.
2. Under applicable law, any attackers using weapons against religion would also be liable to punishment.
3. Any individual or group suspected to be carrying, hiding, or transporting any explosive material would also be liable to punishment.
4. Anyone accused of kidnapping would also be punished.
5. Any financing of illegal activities would also be liable to punishment.
6. Under the Army Act, the final verdicts for any terrorist acts being tried in special courts would be taken by the federal government.
7. All applicable laws under the Army Act would be in effect for a total of two years, after which the special courts would cease to exist.

Analysis

This amendment is undertaken:

1. To protect state from terrorist groups during WOT
2. To ensure speedy trials and conclusions of cases
3. To ensure timely punishment of terrorists
4. To overcome the weaknesses of investigation system of Pakistan
5. To protect witnesses, investigators, prosecutors, and judges from terrorists

However, it has also been criticized by many as a violation the principles of civil supremacy, judicial independence, and human rights. It is justified as the needed cure under the prevailing abnormal circumstances and wave of terrorism in Pakistan.

Conclusion

These amendments were made to make the parliament strong, to ensure the independence of judiciary, ECP, and Commissions and to punish terrorists by speeding up the trials and conclusions in order to counter terrorism. These amendments were a stitch in time to save nine.

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Proxy war: role of external elements

1. Introduction

A proxy war is a conflict between two nations where neither country directly engages the other. It frequently involves both countries fighting their opponent's allies or assisting their allies in fighting their opponents. It has been common after the WWII and during the rise of the Cold War. Most of the proxy wars were motivated by the fear of the direct conflict between USA and USSR that would result is nuclear holocaust. Currently, many proxy wars are being fought in Middle East, South Asia and other parts of the world that are serious threats to the security and stability of the world.

2. Reasons behind proxy war

1. Mutual Assured Destruction (fear of nuclear holocaust)

The main reason behind the proxy wars has been the threat of nuclear holocaust resulting in mutually assured destruction. Drastic disaster that resulted from drop of nuclear bombs on Heroshima and Nagasaki terrified the whole world.

2. Less expensive

Proxy war is comparatively less expensive than the direct engagement in war. A country may supply training, funds, weapons, intelligence, personnel, or shelter or some or all of them. In direct engagement, everything comes at stake.

3. Independent conflicts turned into proxy wars

Independent conflicts may turn into proxy wars due to the intervention of external powers. For example, Spanish Civil War between Nationalists and Republicans turned into a proxy war when Nazi German and its allies started supporting Nationalists while USSR, Maxico and others started supporting Republicans.

4. Differences in military strength

Proxy war is also preferred when there is a difference in military strength of two countries. For example, in Arab-Israeli conflict, Israel is far superior in military strength than the Arabs; therefore, Arabs are blamed that they resort to funding terrorist organizations like Hezbollah and Hamas.

5. Public not in support of direct war

Proxy war is also preferred when public is not in support of direct war. For example, in Soviet-Afghan war, American public had no interest in fighting a direct war. Therefore, USA supported Afghan Mujahideen against the USSR.

6. Fear of international reaction / sanctions

Saudi Arabia and Iran have very tense relations. They may be punished economically by the imposition of trade sanctions if they go against each other in direct war. Therefore, they are fighting each other through proxy wars in Syria and Yemen.

3. Proxy war strategy

- Sponsoring country may provide immense support to its client to have quick win or may provide sufficient support to client to ensure the continuance of the conflict until the opponents retreat.
- Sponsoring country may support a state or non-state actor and may provide training, funds, weapons, intelligence, personnel, or shelter or some or all of them to its client.

- It may have one or more clients.
- It may also support a country that has a client.

4. History of proxy wars

1. Greek civil war (1946-1949)

It was fought between Greek government, supported by US and UK, and Greek Communist Rebels which were supported by Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria. Communist rebels were defeated.

2. Korean war (1950-1953)

It was fought between US-led UN forces and Communists in North Korea and China. USSR also supported the Communists. Communist North Korea and pro-West South Korea were established.

3. Suez Crises (1956-1957)

It was fought between Israel, supported by UK and France, and Egypt, supported by US, USSR, and UN. Israel withdrew from Sinai.

4. Tibetan uprising (1959-1973)

It was fought between Tibet, supported by US and Nepal, and People's Republic of China. Tibet uprising was crushed.

5. Vietnam war (1957-1975)

It was fought between anti-communist forces (South Vietnam, US, South Korea, Australia), supported by Canada, West Germany, and UK, and communist forces (North Vietnam, Viet Cong, Khmer Rouge), supported by China, USSR, North Korea, and East Germany). Communist won and Communist Vietnam was established over both North and South Vietnam.

6. Indo-Pak war of 1971

It was fought by India and Bangladesh, supported by USSR, with Pakistan, supported by US, China, and Sri Lanka. Bangladesh was created and CFL was converted into LoC.

7. Angolan civil war (1974-2002)

It was fought between communist MPLA, supported by USSR, with anti-communist UNITA, supported by USA. UNITA has since been a formidable political party.

8. Afghan-Soviet war (1979-1989)

It was fought by Afghan Mujahdeen, supported by US, UK, China, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, with USSR and Afghan Government. USSR withdrew from Afghanistan and was later disintegrated.

9. Lebanon war 2006 and Gaza War 2008-2009

These were a part of Israel-Iran proxy conflicts.

5. Ongoing proxy wars

1. Arab-Israeli Conflict (1948-present)

It is being fought between Israeli Jews, supported by UK, US, and Saudi Arabia, and Palestini Arabs, supported by Iran, Syria, and Qatar.

2. Syrian civil war (2011-present)

It is being fought between family dictatorship, supported by Iran, Russia, and Iraq, and Syrian people (named Syrian Rebels), supported by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, US, Turkey, Libya, UK, France and EU. Various conflicts are going in Syria like the internal wahabi conflict, Iranian-Saudi conflict, Qatar-Saudi conflict, Sunni-Shiiyat conflict, US-Russia conflict, and Hezbollah-Future Movement conflict.

3. Pro-Russia conflict in Ukraine (2014-present)

It is being fought between Ukraine government, supported by US and EU, and Ukraine insurgents, supported by Russia and Novorossiya.

4. War in Afghanistan (2001-present)

It is being fought by US-led NATO forces, supported by US, UK and Pakistan with Afghan Taliban.

5. Military operation against terrorists in Pakistan (2014-present)

It is being fought by Pakistani Army with the terrorists who are supported by India and Russia to fight a proxy war in Pakistan. Gulf money is also at play in Pakistan.

6. Saudi-led intervention in Yemen (2015-present)

It is being fought by Yemeni government and Saudi Arabia, supported by nine Arab States and USA with the Houthi Rebels / insurgents, supported by Iran.

7. Libyan civil war (2014-present)

It is being fought by Libyan government (Council of Deputies), supported by Egypt, UAE, Israel and US with the dissident islamist groups including new General National Congress (GNS), ISIS, and Ansar Ul-Shariyat (Libya) supported by Qatar, Sudan, Turkey, and Iran.

8. Iraqi insurgency (2011-present)

It is being fought by Iraqi government (predominantly Shiyat), supported by Iran, Syria, Russia, and US with the ISIS (Iraqi insurgents and military group), supported by Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Turkey.

6. Effects of proxy wars

1. Deaths, injuries, disabilities

Proxy wars result in tens of thousands of deaths, injuries and disabilities because they last longer than direct wars.

2. Displacements and refugees

Proxy wars also result in tens of thousands of displacements and refugees because of long lasting military actions which often target civilians.

3. Loss of infrastructure

In proxy wars, attacks are often made to destroy the infrastructure like bridges, grid stations, universities, hospitals, houses etc of the opponent. Proxy wars are more dangerous than the direct wars.

4. Loss of money

Sponsoring countries spend huge amount of money to support their clients. Billions of dollars are spent annually in proxy wars—a non-value added activity.

5. Destabilizing effect

Proxy wars destabilize the countries and the region. For example, proxy wars between Saudi Arab and Iran, between Israel and Palestine, between Pakistan and India, between USA and USSR and China have resulted in destabilization of their respective regions.

7. Conclusion

Proxy war is an indirect war and there are multiple reasons why countries opt for proxy wars instead of direct wars. Many proxy wars have been fought in the past and many are ongoing in different regions of the world. Proxy wars are more drastic and destructive than direct wars and these last long too. These are major threat to the stability and security of the world.

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